ELEMENTARY AMERICAN HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

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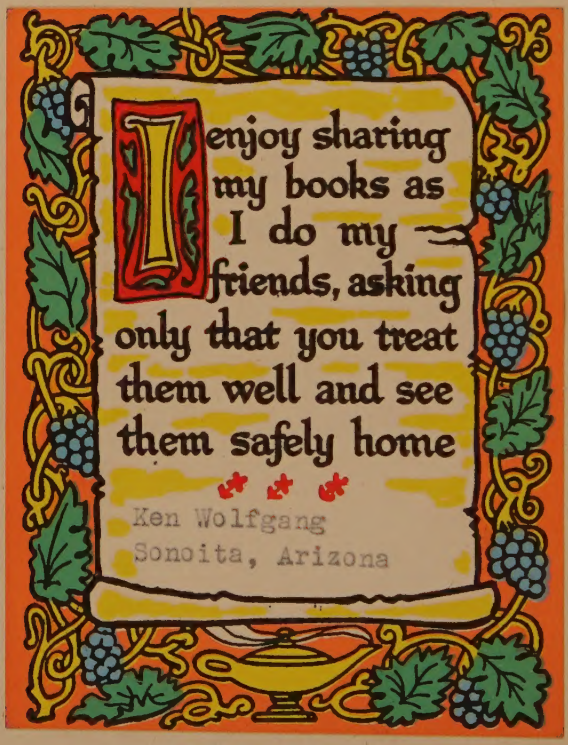
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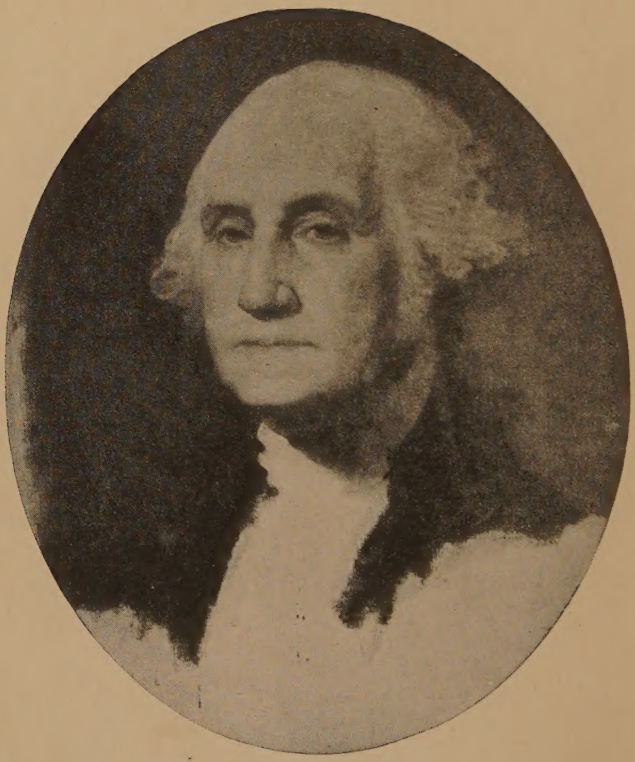

GEORGE WASHINGTON

"To the excellency of his virtues I am not disposed to set any limits. All his views were upright, all his actions just." — *Pickering.*

ELEMENTARY AMERICAN HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

BY

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LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
FOURTH AVENUE & 30TH STREET, NEW YORK
LONDON, BOMBAY, AND CALCUTTA

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PREFACE

We have attempted in the following pages to set forth the essential features of the History and Civil Government of the United States. The History covers the principal events in the course of our colonial and national development from the discoveries of Columbus to the present time. By the introduction of a considerable amount of correlated material on American Government we have sought to make it easier for teachers to introduce into the grades immediately below the High School much more of formal instruction than is usually attempted in the Civil Government of the United States. Thousands of pupils leave the public schools before entering the High School and without any definite instruction whatever in the primary facts relating to their civic life. The curriculum is crowded; the time of the teacher is occupied with manifold lines of work; and in the great majority of our schools it does not seem practicable to introduce a new study requiring an additional place in the programme.

The addition of such an extra subject, even if practicable, does not seem to us to be desirable. We believe, in common with many other teachers, that American Government can be taught most effectively in connection with American History; that each throws light upon the other; that the two subjects are so intimately connected that they cannot well be separated; and that each falls in naturally with the other in the process of study and instruction. We have endeavored, therefore, to correlate the essential features of the two subjects so that as much of American Government as it is practicable to teach in the grammar grades may be taught in connection with American History. After studying the general principles of National, State, and

Local Government, as set forth in the body of the text, a special study should be made of the institutions and government of the locality in which the school is situated.

While we have recognized the value of the valor, virtues, and sacrifices of war for purposes of patriotic teaching, we have omitted, for the most part, the details of military campaigns. We have emphasized the history of social and industrial progress.

This progress constitutes the dominant theme of American History. " The advance of agriculture from the pioneer farm to the bonanza ranch, the expansion of manufactures consequent on the substitution of machinery and factory organization for the domestic handicrafts, the service rendered to commerce by steam, the telegraph, electricity, — these are the really potent factors in the History of the United States." We have sought to interest the pupil in these great achievements of peace.

In this connection we wish to make grateful acknowledgment of the valuable assistance which we have received in the preparation of the book. Miss Flora Swan, of the Indianapolis public schools, read critically every page of the manuscript and of the proof as well. We are indebted to her for many valuable suggestions upon every phase of the book. Professor F. S. Bogardus of the Indiana State Normal School, Professor Harlow Lindley, of Earlham College, Professor Homer C. Hockett of Ohio State University, Mr. T. L. Harris, of Indiana University, and Dr. B. W. Bond, Jr., and Dr. E. R. Spedden of Purdue University read the entire proof and made many scholarly and practical suggestions.

For special illustrations our thanks are due to The New York Herald Company, for the picture of Magellan's Straits; to Dr. F. S. Piper, of Lexington, Mass., for the pictures of the Boulder on Lexington Common and of the Statue of the Minute-man; to Frank A. Munsey Company, for the picture of the '49er; to the Denver & Rio Grande R. R. Co., for the pictures of the Mountain Pack Train and of the Indians Traveling; to the Lincoln Farm Association, for the picture of the Log Cabin in which

Lincoln was born; to F. H. Meserve, Esq., of New York City, for the picture of Lincoln and Officers; to Messrs. McKim, Mead & White, for the picture of the Prison Ship Martyrs' Monument; to *The Outlook*, for the Topographical Map of the Panama Canal, and to the New York Central Railroad Company, for the Electric Train.

James A. Woodburn.
Thomas F. Moran.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	Introduction — The Old World and the New	1
I	The Story of the Discoverers and Explorers	7
II	The Indians	30
III	The Physical Features of North America	38
IV	The Planting of the Colonies	42
V	The Beginnings of Union Among the English Colonies	80
VI	France and Great Britain Fight for the New World, 1754–1763	89
VII	Colonial Government and Colonial Life	102
VIII	The Causes of the American Revolution	116
IX	The Declaration of Independence	134
X	The War for Independence, 1775–1783	143
XI	The Old Confederation and its Failure, 1781–1789	165
XII	Making the Constitution	174
XIII	The New Government	181
XIV	The New Government in Operation. The Rule of the Federalist Party, 1789–1801	200
XV	Jefferson and the Old Republican Party, 1801–1809	219
XVI	Madison and the War of 1812, 1809–1817	231
XVII	Monroe and the Era of Good Feeling, 1817–1825	243
XVIII	John Quincy Adams and the Westward Movement	249
XIX	The Industrial Development of the New Nation, 1789–1829	257
XX	Jackson and the Democratic Party, 1829–1841	277
XXI	Slavery and the Missouri Struggle	288
XXII	The Abolition Movement	293

CHAPTER		PAGE
XXIII	Slavery Extension: Texas, Oregon, and the Mexican War	301
XXIV	The Compromises of 1850	311
XXV	The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the Final Struggle for Free Soil	320
XXVI	How the Civil War Came on	331
XXVII	The First Two Years of the War, 1861–1863	338
XXVIII	The Last Two Years of the War, 1863–1865	355
XXIX	Social and Industrial Progress from 1829 to 1865	375
XXX	The Period of Reconstruction, 1865–1877	391
XXXI	The United Nation, 1877–1910	403
XXXII	The Industrial Development of the United States since the Civil War	427
XXXIII	Present Day Government: American Citizenship	450
	An Outline for the Additional Study of State and Local Government	460

APPENDICES

1. The Declaration of Independence . . . xiii
2. The Constitution of the United States . . . xvii
3. Topical Outline for the Blackboard . . . xxxii
4. Dates of Important Events . . . xlvi
5. Statistical Tables . . . xlviii
6. The Index . . . li

LIST OF MAPS

	PAGE
Known World at the Time of Columbus	2
Trade Routes to the East	9
Discoveries of Columbus	19
Early Voyages of Discovery	20
Magellan's Expedition	22
De Soto's Expedition	26
Physical Map of the United States	39
Spanish Explorations before 1600	43
French Explorations	46
First English Colony	51
Early Settlements in New York	58
Beginnings of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island	66
Early Settlements in Maryland	71
Early Settlements on South Atlantic Coast	72
Early Settlements in East and West Jersey	73
Pennsylvania and Delaware	74
English Colonies in 1700, *Colored*	*facing* 80
Beginnings of the Westward Movement	87
North America in 1750, *Colored*	*facing* 89
The French and Indian War	91
European Possessions, 1763	100
Eastern Massachusetts	131
Revolutionary War in the North, *Colored*	*facing* 143
Campaigns around Philadelphia and Vicinity	149
Expedition of George Rogers Clark to Northwest	158
Revolutionary War in the South, *Colored*	*facing* 159

PAGE

Siege of Yorktown 160
United States at Close of the Revolution, *Colored* . . *facing* 162
Central North America after Louisiana Purchase 225
War of 1812 238
The Erie Canal in 1825 252
Regions of Cotton Growing 261
Lewis and Clark Expedition from St. Louis 265
Missouri Compromise 291
Texan Independence and Mexican War 302
Oregon Territory 305
United States, 1783–1853 308
Texas, 1845 309
Slave and Free States, *Colored* . . . . . *facing* 320
Freedom and Slavery in 1857 325
United States in 1861, *Colored* . . . . . *facing* 331
Military Situation in the West, 1862 342
The Peninsular Campaign 348
The Civil War, *Colored* . . . . . *between* 356 and 357
Alaska 401
Porto Rico 416
The United States and its Possessions, *Colored* . . . . *facing* 418
Products of the United States 431
Iron Ore Shipping Routes 439
Center of Manufactures 444
Panama 448

ELEMENTARY AMERICAN HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

INTRODUCTION

THE OLD WORLD AND THE NEW

THE New World is the name given to the American continents. They were so called because they were the last of the great continents on the globe to be discovered and inhabited by civilized man. Europe, Asia, and Africa, on the other hand, are called the Old World. These countries were inhabited by civilized peoples many hundreds of years before America was discovered.

Connection Between the Old World and the New. Although the American continents, surrounded by immense oceans, lay unknown for centuries, it should be understood that there is a close connection between the history of the Old World and that of the New. The New World was discovered, explored, and inhabited by men from the Old. People came from England, France, Spain, and other European countries and made homes in the New World; and when they came they brought with them their manners and customs, their languages, their religions, and their forms of government. Our real forefathers, then, were the Englishmen, Dutchmen, Germans, Frenchmen, and others who planted colonies on our shores, and it should be remembered that many of the founders of the American nation were not born on American soil.

In short, a part of the people of the Old World was carried over to the New; and the history of the New World is but a continuation of that of the Old.

Discovery of the New World. The New World, of which the United States of America is a part, was discovered by Christopher Columbus on his famous voyage of 1492. This discovery is one

of the most important and interesting events in all history, and if we try to imagine ourselves as living in the time of Columbus we shall get a much better idea of it.

Size and Shape of the Earth. Men in those days had very queer notions about the size and shape of the earth. We now know that the earth is shaped like a ball or sphere, but most

MAP OF THE KNOWN WORLD IN THE TIME OF COLUMBUS

Travelers had been to India, China, and Japan. Portuguese navigators had crept down the western coast of Africa, and Bartholomew Diaz had reached the Cape of Storms (Cape of Good Hope). Vasco da Gama had not yet circumnavigated Africa and reached India. The great American continents were then unknown.

people in those times thought that it was flat and that people lived only on the upper side of it. Then again, every one, including those few men who believed that the earth was round, estimated its size to be much less than it really is.

The Known World. That part of the globe which was known even to the best geographers of the day was very small indeed. If you look at the map you will see that the American continents

and almost all of Africa were entirely unknown before the time of Columbus. Europe, of course, was pretty well known; but large parts of Asia had never been explored by civilized man, and the interior of the African continent was known only to wild beasts and savage men. The great American continents, extending almost from pole to pole, were entirely unknown to the rest of the world.

The maps of the world which were made before the time of Columbus contained the continent of Europe, a large part of Asia, and a narrow strip on the northern coast of Africa. In many cases pictures of fierce-looking animals were drawn upon the edges of the maps to show the kind of inhabitants which one might expect to find in the unexplored regions. In these circumstances men, naturally enough, had no desire to risk their lives by going into the remote parts of the world.

"The Sea of Darkness." The men of this time were also slow to venture out upon the Atlantic Ocean. The mariner's compass was in use, and the astrolabe, an instrument for finding the latitude of a ship at sea, had been invented; but in general it may be said that the equipment of the navigator was not very good. Many of the instruments then in use were imperfect and crude, and the ships of the time were small sailing vessels. It has been estimated that one of the largest of these ships could be placed in the dining-room of one of our present ocean steamships.

Yet it cannot be said that the lack of good instruments and stanch ships was the chief reason why sailors did not wish to try to cross the ocean. The principal reason for this is found in the way in which the people looked upon the Atlantic Ocean, or "The Sea of Darkness," as it was then called. No one had explored it; very little was known about it; yet, as is usual in such cases, people imagined a great many things. It was said, for instance, that the water of the ocean was constantly boiling in some places, that parts of it were covered with a dense, black fog, in which sailors could not make their way, and that mon-

strous animals of queer but terrible shapes were constantly gliding about among the waves.

Many also thought that certain parts of the ocean were infested with "ship-worms" which bored numerous holes in the bottoms of vessels, thus causing them to sink rapidly and almost without warning. These "worm-seas," as they were called, were naturally greatly dreaded by navigators.

Then, again, vessels sailing out of port seemed to go down hill, since the tops of the masts were the last to disappear. Upon

AN OLD PICTURE REPRESENTING SOME OF THE TERRORS OF "THE SEA OF DARKNESS"

noticing this fact, some asked: "How will it be possible for these ships to make their way *up the hill* again, when they wish to come back into port?"

When we consider all of these strange beliefs and queer notions, is it to be wondered at that the men of the Middle Ages did not care to sail out of sight of land upon the Atlantic?

Prophecies of the Discovery. It is not exactly correct to say, as some writers have done, that a New World was not thought of before the time of Columbus. In their day-dreams some early writers had pictured such a continent in their imaginations.

Seventeen hundred years before the time of Columbus a Greek writer said that if the Atlantic Ocean was not too wide it would be possible to reach India by sailing west from Spain. He also said that it was entirely possible that there might be two or even more "habitable earths" between the two countries.

A wonderful prophecy was also made by a Roman poet who lived about the time of the birth of Christ. This poet prophesied that in the dim future there would come a time when the sea would disclose new worlds, and vast earths, then unknown, would lie open to the view. The son of Columbus read this prophecy many centuries afterward and made the claim that his father had fulfilled it by his voyage of 1492.

STATUE OF LEIF ERICSON IN BOSTON

Leif Ericson was known as "Leif the Lucky" after his voyage to the New World. There is good reason to believe that about the year 1000 A.D. he sailed from his home in Norway and after stopping at Iceland and Greenland came to the Atlantic coast of North America. He named the place "Vinland" because of the abundance of wild grapes found growing there. He and his companions, about thirty in number, spent the winter in Vinland, other settlers came, and a colony was started, only to be abandoned later. No trace of this colony has ever been found, and its exact location still remains a mystery. It was probably somewhere within the present boundaries of Massachusetts or Rhode Island.

The Norsemen. Then, too, it is a fact that Columbus was not the first white man to set foot upon American soil. About five hundred years before his time some Norsemen (Northmen) led by Leif Ericson, a hardy sea rover, came from the Scandinavian Peninsula to the Atlantic coast of North America; and, like a flock of sea birds, they alighted, lingered for a while, and then went their way. The people of

the time soon forgot all about this voyage, and Columbus, to the day of his death, had never even heard of it.

SHIPS OF THE NORTHMEN

The Northmen came to America in swift little sailing vessels like the above. It is interesting to note that their long voyages were made without the guidance of the mariner's compass.

We must now, however, turn our attention to the *real* discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus, the famous Italian navigator.

CHAPTER I

THE STORY OF THE DISCOVERERS AND EXPLORERS

AMERICA was discovered almost by accident. Columbus chanced upon some of the outlying islands of the continent while upon a voyage, the main object of which was to find a new route to India. We must now see how this wonderful accident happened.

The Great East. The men of Europe of Columbus's day were desirous, above all other things, of finding a new trade route to the great East. The East was the name given to a vast expanse of territory in southeastern Asia, comprising the countries which we now know as India, China, and Japan. For many centuries before this time, the people of Europe had carried on a large and profitable trade with this far-off country. In exchange for their own goods they had obtained spices, gold, precious stones, silks, perfumes, and other rare and valuable articles. Many merchants of southern Europe had become exceedingly wealthy by engaging in this eastern trade.

Travelers' Tales of the East. Little was known about the East, and for this very reason the men of the time came to have an exaggerated notion of its wealth and importance. Only a few Europeans had visited the country and those who had were inclined to tell wonderful stories about what they saw.

Marco Polo, an Italian, who had traveled widely in the East, wrote a glowing account of the country in 1299, and the "Voyage and Travels of Sir John Mandeville" were published a short time later. Now, Sir John never really traveled in the East at all, but he led people to believe that he had by publishing a book made up entirely of the writings of eastern travelers.

These books told of "silver walls and golden towers," of precious stones and fountains of youth, and of immense palaces paved with gold, "like slabs of stone, a good two fingers thick." Such accounts naturally made the people of Europe very anxious to increase their trade with the East and to know more of that wonderful country.

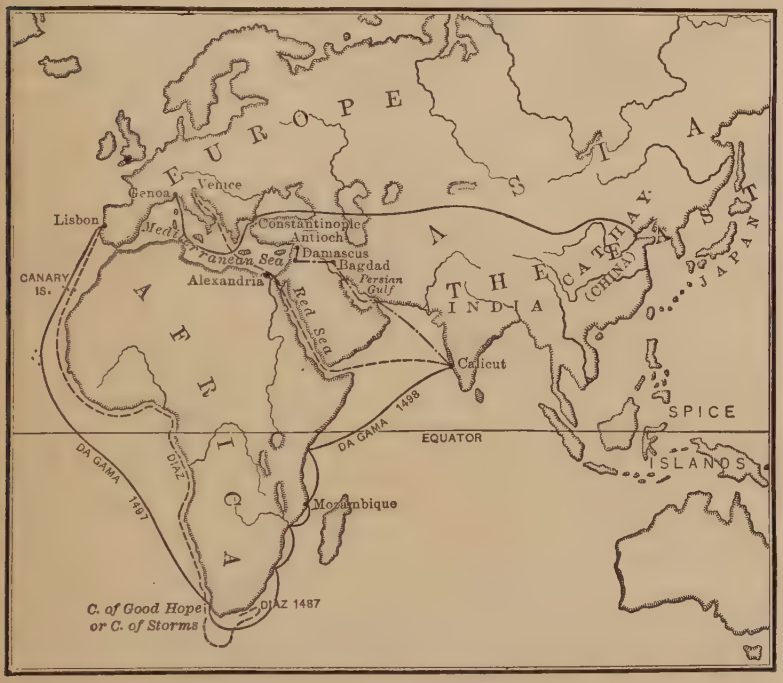
The Crusades and the East. The Crusades had the same effect. These "Holy Wars of the Cross" were expeditions organized in Europe in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries for the purpose of going to the Holy Land and rescuing the tomb of Christ from the hands of the Turks. These expeditions increased the trade with the East and aroused an interest in the geography of that country.

CRUSADERS
Mounted Crusaders on their way to the Holy Land. Note the crosses on the banners.

The Revival of Learning. Early in the fourteenth century the great "revival of learning" began. This also increased interest in commerce, navigation, and geography. For nearly a thousand years before this time there had been but very little knowledge or enlightenment in Europe. The period is usually called "the Dark Ages." It seemed as if the lights of learning had gone out. The monks and clergymen of the Christian Church were about the only educated men of the time. The masses of the people were ignorant and superstitious and cared nothing for education.

In the fourteenth century, however, a remarkable change took place. A revival of learning began which soon spread out in every direction. Men became more active than they had been before. Trade increased, manufacturing became more exten-

sive, gunpowder was used in warfare, and printing was invented. Men read and studied and were eager for travel by land and water. In short, the spirit of enterprise was in the air. Men were more wide-awake than they had been for centuries, and the



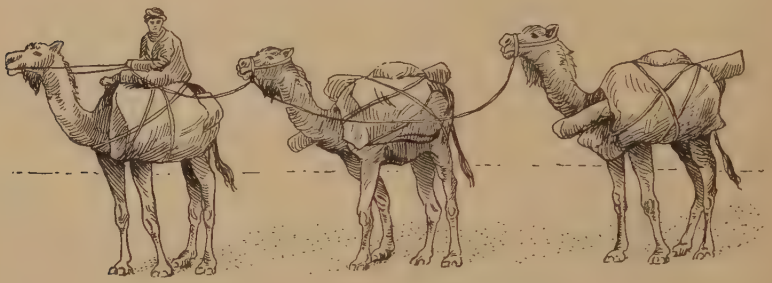
TRADE ROUTES TO THE EAST

For centuries Europeans had toiled up and down these routes, with boat and caravan. They carried woolen cloth, linen, black lead, wine, and glassware to the East, and received in exchange fragrant spices, black pepper, cotton cloth, silks, ivory, pearls, sapphires, diamonds, and other valuable articles.

period is sometimes called the "new birth," because the world seemed to be born again.

All of these things — the glowing accounts of travelers, the Crusades, and the Revival of Learning — tended to increase the interest of Europeans in the trade and geography of the East.

The Three Routes to the East. In the time of Columbus there were three important routes of trade leading to the East.



PART OF AN ASIATIC CARAVAN

These patient beasts of burden brought a large part of the valuable goods from the East to the ports of the Mediterranean.

The northern route started from Genoa, and, passing through Constantinople, the Black and Caspian Seas, led the merchant into eastern China. The southern route started from Venice and, passing through the Red Sea, reached India. The middle route began at Antioch and made its way to India by way of the Persian Gulf. Over these routes the rich products of the East were carried upon the backs of camels, mules, and horses, and even upon the shoulders of men. The caravans of the merchants toiled slowly and painfully over mountains, through valleys and across deserts, in the midst of snow and ice or burning sands, until

A VENETIAN SHIP

These ships, propelled partly by sails and partly by oars, were familiar figures upon the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages. They presented a gay appearance with their decorated sails and flying pennants.

their precious burdens were finally placed on shipboard at some Mediterranean port. Sometimes the rich trains were plundered by wild Asiatic tribes; again, goods fell into the hands of pirates, and now and then an entire ship-load went to the bottom of the sea during one of the furious Mediterranean storms. Yet enough of the goods reached their destination to cause Venice and Genoa to become wealthy commercial cities.

The Turks Cut Off the Trade Routes. A turn soon came in the fortunes of the Italian cities. In 1453 Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks, who were conquering large parts of Asia at the time. As a result of this, the trade route leading to Genoa was cut off. Business came to a standstill, and Columbus probably saw grass growing in the streets of his native city. It was now evident that the time was near at hand when the Turks would cut off all overland routes between Europe and the East. Something had to be done, and the merchants of Europe said, "*A new route must be found to the great East.*"

A Water Route to India. As the merchants and traders had been cut off by land, they naturally tried to find a water route to the East. Spain and Portgual were the two leading exploring nations of Europe at the time, and navigators from these countries set out in different directions to seek India.

The Portuguese Sail Around Africa and Reach India, 1498. Portuguese sailors attempted to reach India by sailing around the southern part of Africa. They crept cautiously down the western coast, crossed the equator, and in 1487 Bartholomew Diaz succeeded in rounding the southern cape, only to be beaten back by furious gales. He made a map of the coast along which he had passed and named the southern extremity the "Cape of Storms." The king of Portugal, however, greatly pleased at the success of the expedition, struck off this name and put in its place the one more familiar to us — the "Cape of Good Hope." The king had hopes that his men would yet sail around the cape and thus reach India. In this he was not disappointed. In 1497 Vasco da Gama sailed from Lisbon and reached India in May

of the following year. He returned to Portugal in triumph, laden with the spices, jewels, silks, and fine fabrics of the East. The Portuguese had solved the great problem. They had found an all-water route to India, and Lisbon soon became an important market for the rich products of the East.

The Spaniards Seek India by Sailing West. While the Portuguese were creeping down the African coast and crossing the Indian Ocean, the Spaniards were seeking the same goal by boldly sailing west across the Atlantic Ocean. In fact, America had been discovered and Columbus was about to sail for the third time in search of a western route to India at the time that Vasco da Gama made his great voyage. This brings us to the fascinating story of the discovery of the New World.

Columbus and his Voyages. Christopher Columbus was born in Genoa, Italy, about the year 1446. His father was a humble weaver and he, too, called himself "a wool-worker of Genoa." He did not go to school a great deal, but by practice he became a fine penman and a very skillful map-maker. The sea had great attractions for him even when he was a boy, and he read with eagerness everything that he could lay hands on about sea voyages and geography. He also read the tales about the riches of the East, and studied with much care the problem of finding a new route to that wonderful country.

Toscanelli and the Western Route. After careful study, Columbus came to the conclusion that India could be reached by sailing directly west from Spain. This was a very natural conclusion. Many other men, believing the earth a globe and not being aware of the existence of the American continents, had reached the same conclusion. Toscanelli, a famous Italian astronomer, wrote a letter to Columbus in which he expressed this view. Toscanelli also said that the distance from Spain to India by water was not more than three thousand miles. This error was a very fortunate one in some respects. If the real distance — about twelve thousand miles — had been known, it would have been exceedingly difficult for

Columbus to induce sailors to risk their lives in attempting the voyage.

The Great Service of Columbus. Columbus, then, was not the first to find out that the earth is a sphere; neither was he the first to suggest a western voyage to India; but he was the first man who had the supreme courage to push boldly out into the "Sea of Darkness" in search of the new route. This was the great service of Columbus.

"What if wise men, as far back as Ptolemy,
Judged that the earth like an orange was round,
None of them ever said, come along, follow me,
Sail to the West and the East will be found."

Difficulties in Fitting out the Expedition. After Columbus had made up his mind to sail west he found no little difficulty in fitting out his expedition. He was a poor man and had no money to build ships or to hire sailors. He asked the assistance of the king of Portugal, only to be refused. He then went to the court of Ferdinand and Isabella — king and queen of Spain. Here he pleaded his case with remarkable force and eloquence. He said later that "he felt himself kindled as with a fire from on high, and considered himself as an agent chosen by Heaven to accomplish a grand design." His eloquence, however, seemed to be of no avail. The wise men shook their heads and declared his plan to be "vain and impossible." People thought that he was crazy. Crowds followed him in the streets, and small boys hooted at him as he went from place to place.

Columbus Determined to go to France. He remained in Spain for seven years, pleading his cause, but all in vain. Sick at heart he determined to seek aid from the king of France. He began his journey, penniless and on foot, and begged his way to the seaport town of Palos, which he afterward made famous. Footsore and weary, he stopped at the convent of Rabida to ask for food and drink. Here he met the prior of the convent, who became interested in his plan and determined to assist him. The

good monk went to the king and queen and persuaded them to recall Columbus to the royal court. This was immediately done, and an agreement was soon reached. The expenses of the western voyage were to be paid by the queen, and Columbus was to have full command of the expedition.

An Age of Ignorance. In order to understand the way in which the people of the time looked upon Columbus and his plans, we must get an idea of the age in which he lived.

THE SANTA MARIA, COLUMBUS'S FLAG SHIP
"A dull vessel," it is said, "and unfit for discovery." This is a picture of the model which was sent over to the World's Fair in Chicago, in 1893.

The age was one of dense ignorance and superstition, as far as the masses of the people were concerned. The revival of learning had taken place, but this revival had, as yet, reached only a select few. There was almost no education among the common people. There were no public schools and books were scarce and costly. Printing had been invented only a short time before and the process was still crude and slow. There was really not much demand for books because only a few people could read them. The result of all this was that the common people were ignorant and uneducated, and even many rich noblemen were not able to write their own names.

Traveling was Difficult. It was impossible also for news to spread freely among the people, as there were no newspapers or magazines. The telegraph, telephone, locomotive, and steamboat were unknown, and even good wagon roads were exceedingly scarce.

In short, the life of the average man was very narrow. He had not attended school. He could not read. He did not travel. He was born, lived his life, and died in the same valley or upon the same slope, and "knew almost nothing of the world beyond the hills that happened to bound his own horizon." Under these circumstances the people could not be expected to take a broad and intelligent view of the great plans of Columbus.

COLUMBUS ABOUT TO SET SAIL FROM PALOS

The morning of Columbus's departure from Palos was the most exciting time in the history of the little Spanish town, with the possible exception of the day upon which he reëntered the harbor.

Columbus Sails West. On the last day of April, 1492, Columbus received his commission, and preparations for the great voyage were begun at once. Three small vessels, the *Niña*, *Pinta*, and *Santa Maria*, were made ready at Palos, Spain. The largest of these boats was only sixty-five feet long and twenty feet wide, as Columbus preferred small vessels for the exploring of coasts.

Finally everything was in readiness. All was excitement in the little seaport town. Business was stopped and men thought

only of the mysterious and dangerous voyage. The hardened mariners, about to sail, attended mass and went to confession in order to be prepared for the worst. One hundred and twenty men, including ninety sailors, a physician, and a surgeon, went

COLUMBUS DISCOVERING THE NEW WORLD
"Was this the face, and these the finding eyes,
That plucked a new world from the rolling seas?"

on board after tearful good-bys, and on Friday, August 3, 1492, an hour before sunrise, the ships set sail.

The Voyage.[1] The voyage was exciting. The sea was calm enough, but the sailors became rebellious, wanted to turn back, and even threatened to throw Columbus overboard. The great navigator, however, told them that it was useless to complain.

[1] It is often said that the sole object of Columbus was to find a new route to India. This is not quite true. It was undoubtedly his main object, but Columbus had also the idea of discovery in mind and was to be governor of all the islands and mainlands which he might find. This was set forth in his commission.

He said that he had started for the Indies and that, with the aid of the Lord, he would keep on until he found them. In order that the sailors might not know their real distance from Spain, Columbus recorded the daily sailings as less than they really were.

Land is Sighted, October 12, 1492. The sailors anxiously watched the flight of birds; piles of clouds were mistaken for dis-

THE LANDING OF COLUMBUS

At daybreak Columbus and his men went ashore. The whole scene was new and strange. The landscape was beautiful and the trees very different from those in Spain. At first the Indians fled in terror at the approach of the Spaniards. They thought the ships were huge sea monsters and that the pale-faced Europeans had come down from the skies. A little later, when their fear had partly passed away, they approached Columbus and his men and traded their tame parrots and gold ornaments for glass beads and other trinkets.

tant mountains; and the strain upon Columbus was intense. Day and night he was on the lookout for land, knowing well that his life depended upon finding it. Finally, at ten o'clock on the night of the 11th of October, he thought that he saw a light moving to and fro in the distance. Four hours later — at two o'clock on the morning of October 12, 1492 — land was distinctly seen in the moonlight.

Columbus was upon the threshold of the New World, but was not aware of it. He went ashore on one of the smaller islands of the Bahama group and took possession of the land in the name of the king and queen of Spain. He named the island San Salvador, meaning Holy Savior, and called its inhabitants Indians because he thought he had reached the Indies.

Columbus Founds the First White Colony in America, 1492. Columbus spent about three months exploring among the islands. He came to Cuba and thought that it was a continent. Here the Spaniards saw the natives drawing smoke from the leaves of a plant rolled up in the form of tubes which were called *tobaccos*. The habit of smoking was soon after introduced into Europe.

A little later Columbus came to what is now Haiti. He was charmed with the beauty of the island, which, the Indians told him, contained "large mines of fine gold." He determined at once to establish a colony there. The lumber for a fort and storehouse was furnished in a most unexpected way. On Christmas Day the waves dashed the *Santa Maria* to pieces and her boards and timbers were used in making a rude building. Columbus left about forty men in the new colony — *the first in the New World*[1] — but when he returned on his second voyage, not a man could be found. The Indians said that some had died from illness and that others had moved away. It is quite probable that the colony had been destroyed by the savages.

The Journey Home. On the 4th of January, 1493, the *Niña* and the *Pinta* set out for Spain. A few Indians were captured and taken on board to show that land had been found. The little boats encountered violent storms, and after many adventures the *Niña*, in command of Columbus himself, was compelled to land in Portugal, on the 4th of March. After remaining there for nine days she again put out to sea, and reached Palos two days later.

[1] In 1498, Bartholomew Columbus, the brother of Christopher, founded Santo Domingo, on the island of Haiti, in honor of his father. This is "*the oldest European settlement in the New World which still exists.*"

Strangely enough, the *Pinta* sailed into the harbor of Palos on the evening of the same day. The two ships had been separated in a storm, near the Azores, many days before, and each thought that the other had been lost. The meeting of the crews was a happy one, and March 15th thus became a notable day in the history of Palos. People forgot all about their business and gathered in eager groups to listen to the tales of the sailors. There was great rejoicing and Columbus was the hero of the hour.

THE DISCOVERIES OF COLUMBUS
The lands touched by Columbus on his various voyages are shown in black.

Columbus Makes Three Other Voyages. The work of Columbus was not yet done. He had not reached the India of spices, silks, and precious metals, and was unwilling to give up the search. Consequently, in the course of the next few years he made three other western voyages. Soon after his fourth voyage, he died in Spain, in poverty, wretchedness, and obscurity, in the year 1506. He was no longer held in honor. Instead of the gold, jewels, and spices of the East he had brought back to Spain only a few dusky savages. His work was looked upon as a dismal failure, although he himself died in the belief that he had reached a remote part of India.

The Pope's Line, May 4, 1493. In order to prevent a quarrel over territory between Spain and Portugal, the Pope, who was very powerful in Europe at the time, established his famous line of division of May 4, 1493.

He decided that the Spaniards should have all the heathen lands which they might discover on the west of a meridian drawn one hundred leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, and

EARLY VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY AND THE POPE'S LINE OF DIVISION

that the Portuguese should have similar privileges on the east side of the line. In the following year the two nations agreed to place the line of division three hundred and seventy leagues west of the islands. It was still supposed to be in mid-ocean, but was not, and the blunder gave Brazil to Portugal.

More Voyages to the New World. John Cabot Explores the Atlantic Coast, 1497-1498. England also wanted to find a new route to India, and in 1497, a short time before Da Gama started on his famous voyage, John Cabot, an Italian, sailed from Bristol under the English flag, in an attempt to find a northwest passage to the East. On the 24th of June he saw land, probably in the vicinity of what is now Labrador. Cabot was the first European since the Northmen to set eyes upon the continent of North America. The king of England was greatly pleased at the success of the voyage and graciously gave Cabot ten pounds (about $50) for finding "the new isle."

In April of the following year Cabot again crossed the Atlantic and explored the coast, probably as far south as Chesapeake Bay. "Lost in the gloom of the Western Ocean," John Cabot probably never returned. His voyages are important because they gave England a claim to the entire continent of North America.

Americus Vespucius Explores the Coast of South America, 1501. In 1501 Americus Vespucius accompanied a Portuguese expedition which explored the coast of South America from Cape San Roque to La Plata River, in search of a southwestern route to India. The expedition then turned its course to the southeast and came to the Island of South Georgia, about twelve hundred miles east of Cape Horn. It had gone farther south than any previous expedition, but the ice and cold finally caused it to turn back.

The Naming of America, 1507. Vespucius was a better writer than navigator, and when he wrote an account of his voyages—a part of which was not true—the people were astonished at the wonderful story. They began to realize the vast extent of seacoast which was now known to exist, and gradually came to the

conclusion that the new land was a *continent* and not an island.

In 1507 a German professor, named Martin Waldseemüller, published a geography in which he suggested that the "new part" of the earth be called "America, in honor of its discoverer, Americus Vespucius." This was done. It would have been more fitting to name the New World "Columbia" in honor of Christopher Columbus, but people did not know at that time what an important discovery he had made.

MAGELLAN'S EXPEDITION, 1519–1522

It left Spain Sept. 20, 1519; entered the present Straits of Magellan Oct. 21, 1520; reached the Philippines March, 1521; and one ship only succeeded in returning to Spain (Sept. 6, 1522).

Magellan Sails Around the World, 1519-1522. The Spaniards were not yet ready to abandon the idea of a western route to India.

In 1519 Ferdinand Magellan, in command of five Spanish ships, small and poor, sailed away to the southwest, hoping to find a strait through the new continent, by which he could make his way to the Spice Islands. The expedition went through the straits which now bear the name of Magellan; crossed the ocean which he called the "Pacific," because it seemed so peaceful after leaving the stormy Atlantic; continued to the East Indies; and returned to Spain by way of the Cape of Good Hope.

What the men suffered on this voyage can never be fully

described. They fought against hunger, cold, heat, wind, wave, and disease, and their brave leader was killed by savages in the Philippines. For a time they had nothing to eat but stale crumbs. The water which they drank was yellow, thick, and foul. Bits of ox hide were taken from the rigging of the ships and, after

THE STRAITS OF MAGELLAN

It was here that one of Magellan's five ships deserted and returned home. The straits are exceedingly dangerous to sailing vessels, but not to steamers. Magellan and his men knew very little of the seasons in the southern hemisphere and were surprised when they were compelled to go into winter quarters at Easter and when the summer began in September. The little ship in the foreground of the picture was drawn from a model of Magellan's ship.

being soaked in the sea for days and then broiled, were eagerly devoured.

While in the straits of Magellan many of his men wanted to turn back, but the "Prince of Navigators" with his "heart of triple bronze" said that he would go on if he had to eat the leather off the ship's yards.

Five ships left Spain, but only one returned. After an absence of three years the little *Victoria* made her way back with eighteen famished survivors on board. Two hundred and thirty-nine men had started on the voyage. Of the ships, one deserted and returned home, two were wrecked, and one was set on fire and abandoned when she became unseaworthy.

The captain of the *Victoria* was highly honored. The king gave him a sum of money and a coat of arms upon which was a globe bearing this inscription: "Thou first encompassed me." [1]

This was undoubtedly the greatest voyage ever performed by man, "and nothing can be imagined that would surpass it except a journey to some other planet."

The geographical importance of the voyage was very great. It proved that the earth is a sphere. It disclosed the immense width of the Pacific Ocean. It showed that there is much more water than land upon the globe, and also that America was a New World and not simply a part of Asia, as Columbus had thought.[2]

The Spaniards in the Interior

Balboa Discovers the Pacific, 1513. Twenty years had passed after the first voyage of Columbus before explorers pushed their way into the interior of the American Continent. In 1513 Balboa, a venturesome Spaniard, crossed the Isthmus of Panama, climbed the Peak of Darien, and looked down upon the great ocean now known as the Pacific. He rushed into the billows of the rising tide, drew his sword, and took possession of the sea in the name of the king of Spain.

Florida Explored and Named, 1513. In the same year (1513) Ponce de Leon, a Spanish soldier, came to the coast of what

[1] The profits of the eastern trade were very large. The *Victoria's* cargo, composed, for the most part, of 26 tons of cloves, was sold for enough to pay the entire cost of the expedition.

[2] It was not definitely proved that America was not connected with Asia until 1728 when Vitus Bering sailed through the straits which now bear his name.

is now Florida. His main object was to found a colony, but he also wished to find the "fountain of perpetual youth," which was said to be somewhere in that part of the continent. He wished to drink of its wonderful waters so that he would never grow old. He did not find the fountain, but he gave to the country the name which it now bears, because he first saw it on Easter Sunday, which is called in the Spanish, *Pascua Florida*, meaning the "Flowery Passover."

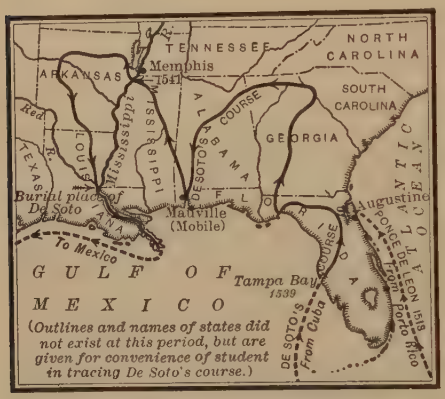
BALBOA DISCOVERING THE PACIFIC

Balboa was a planter on one of the Bahama Islands. He fell heavily into debt and had himself nailed up in a barrel and carted on board a ship, with packages of provisions, in order to escape his debtors and get to the main land. When he arrived the Indians told him of another sea "where they sail with ships as big as his." He became interested in finding this new ocean and pushed across the isthmus, forty-five miles in eighteen days, where "impenetrable thickets, tangled swamps, slippery cliffs, enormous trees, and interlacing vines, block the way at every turn."

Narvaez Explores the Southwest, 1528-1536. Fifteen years later, Narvaez, another Spanish adventurer, landed at Tampa Bay, Florida, with three hundred men, and pushed into the interior. They lost their way in the dense forests, and suffered unspeakable hardships. One by one they fell victims of disease, accidents, and the attacks of wild beasts and savage men, until only four of the three hundred remained. For eight years, these unfortunate men dragged themselves about in the forests, swamps, and deserts of the present Texas and northern Mexico, until they finally reached the Gulf of California in 1536.

De Soto Finds the Mississippi, 1541. Another heroic Spanish explorer was Hernando de Soto. He landed in Florida in 1539 with six hundred and twenty men, two hundred and twenty-three horses, and a large drove of hogs. After wandering about in the swamps and jungles of the Gulf region for two years, he dis-

covered the Mississippi River in the spring of 1541.[1] Early in June he crossed the river a short distance south of where the city of Memphis now stands. In the following year he died of swamp fever and his body was taken out in a canoe and sunk in the middle of the great river which he had discovered. This was done to conceal his death from the Indians.



THE ROUTE OF DE SOTO'S EXPEDITION

His company soon after abandoned the expedition. They built rafts and rude boats and made their way down the river, along the Gulf coast, to the Spanish settlements in Mexico. "Thus ended the most remarkable exploring expedition in the history of North America." [2]

De Soto was a brave man but he was also very cruel. He thought that slaying Indians was very fine sport. Many a poor savage was torn to pieces by the fierce dogs of the Spanish explorers.

Coronado Seeks the "Seven Cities," 1540. Another remarkable expedition was undertaken, in 1540, by a band of Spaniards

[1] The earliest description of the Mississippi River was written by a member of De Soto's party and runs as follows: "The river was almost half a league broad. If a man stood on the other side, it could not be discerned whether he were a man or no. The river was of great depth, and of a strong current; the water was always muddy; there came down the river continually many trees and timber."

[2] It took the men four years, three months and eleven days to make the journey from Tampa Bay to Mexico. Six hundred and twenty men started on the expedition and three hundred and eleven survived. They were not on the march all of the time, but stopped occasionally, sometimes for long periods, to rest the men and fatten the horses. They lived on the wild turkeys and partridges which they shot, and the hogs which they brought with them. They also got corn and beans from the Indians, and found grapes, plums, and mulberries growing wild.

under the leadership of Coronado. Coronado had been told that there were, somewhere in the interior of the continent, seven large and wealthy cities, known as the "Seven Cities of Cibola." It was said that the inhabitants lived in magnificent stone houses and used household utensils made of solid gold and silver. These tales lured the Spaniards into the interior. They found the "Seven Cities," but they found neither marble palaces nor gold and silver —nothing but rude Indian houses.

For three years they tramped about in the southwestern wilderness. A part of them went into what is now Kansas, and some of them saw the Grand Cañon of the Colorado. They abandoned the expedition in 1542, being convinced that they were the victims of idle tales.

The French Explorers

While the Spaniards were busy in the South and West, the French were exploring the region of the St. Lawrence.

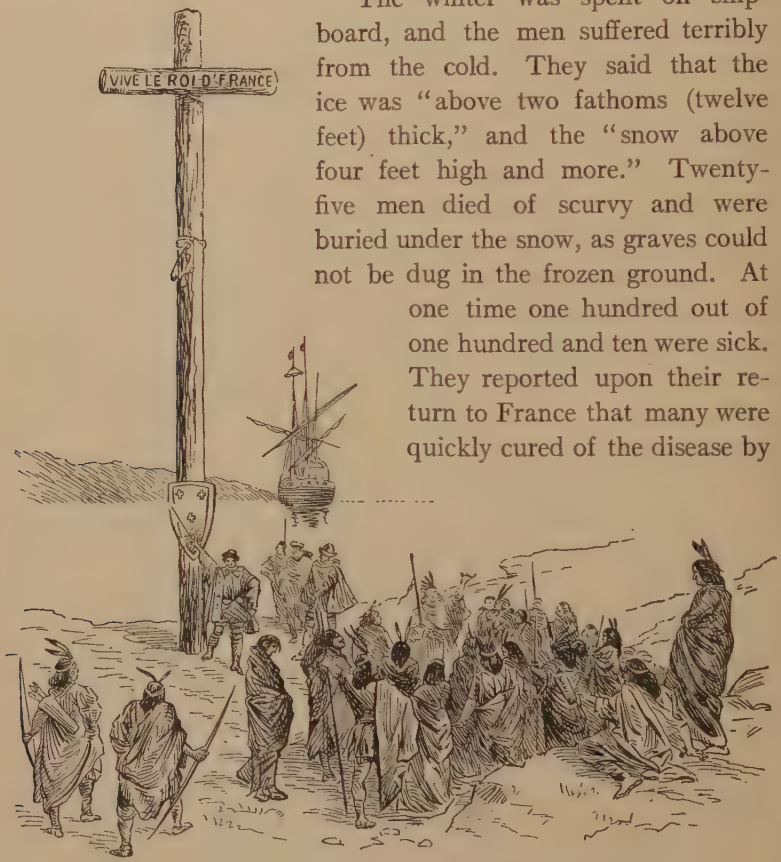
John Verrazano Explores the Atlantic Coast, 1524. Two years after the *Victoria* had completed her voyage around the world, John Verrazano, an Italian, sailed to the New World, under the flag of France. He, too, wanted to find a new route to India. He failed in the attempt, but he explored the Atlantic coast from the Cape Fear River to Newfoundland, and then sailed away to France.

Cartier Sails up the St. Lawrence, 1534. Ten years later, Jacques Cartier, a French fisherman, came to the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, and erected there a cross thirty feet in height, in the presence of a band of Indians. He then sailed up the broad river, thinking that he had found at last a western passage to India; but he, too, was mistaken.

Montreal is Named, 1535. A year later he again sailed up the St. Lawrence — this time as "Captain and Pilot of the King." He went to the present site of Montreal (meaning Royal Mountain), and gave to the place the name which it now bears. Five miles further on he was checked by the rapids, since called

Lachine (China), as Cartier and his men thought they were well on their way to China.

The winter was spent on shipboard, and the men suffered terribly from the cold. They said that the ice was "above two fathoms (twelve feet) thick," and the "snow above four feet high and more." Twenty-five men died of scurvy and were buried under the snow, as graves could not be dug in the frozen ground. At one time one hundred out of one hundred and ten were sick. They reported upon their return to France that many were quickly cured of the disease by



CARTIER AT THE MOUTH OF THE ST. LAWRENCE

French explorers when taking possession of new lands frequently erected huge crosses bearing the coat of arms of France and the inscription, "Long live the King of France."

drinking the juice of the leaves of a certain tree (supposed to be the sassafras) which had been pointed out to them by the Indians.

In the spring, when the ice melted, the survivors were glad to go back to France.

Cartier's Third Expedition, 1541. In the summer of 1541 Cartier again came to the St. Lawrence region and built a rude fort on the beautiful spot where Quebec now stands. No colony was established, however, as he remained in America only a few months. When he went back to France he took with him some shining rock crystals which he thought were diamonds. These crystals may still be found at places on the St. Lawrence.

These voyages gave the French a claim to the St. Lawrence region. We shall see later how they obtained their claim to the valley of the Mississippi. Along these great rivers the French hoped, at some future time, to establish the "Kingdom of New France."

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. What connection was there between the "Revival of Learning" and the discovery of America?
2. Why was an *all-water* route to India particularly desirable? Will the Panama Canal be of any use in this respect?
3. Would a man with a new idea meet the same discouragements to-day which Columbus met in 1492? What other men can you mention who persevered in the face of ridicule?
4. What was the importance of Magellan's trip around the world?
5. History and Geography should be studied together. Take the map or globe and trace the courses of all the discoverers and explorers mentioned in this chapter.
6. The £10 given by the king to John Cabot would be equivalent in purchasing power to a much larger sum than $50 at the present time. Try to find additional information on this point.
7. Read Joaquin Miller's poem on "Columbus."

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

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2. N. D'Anvers, "Heroes of American Discovery."
3. G. C. Eggleston, "Our First Century," 1–7 (Discovery and Exploration).
4. John Fiske, "Discovery of America," Vol. II, 184–212 (Magellan).

CHAPTER II

THE INDIANS

We should now try to picture to ourselves the American continent as the first European explorers saw it. Along the Atlantic coast, where great busy cities now stand, the early explorer saw only a lonesome shore with beautiful harbors surrounded by forest trees and dotted here and there with frail canoes, instead of huge ocean steamships as at the present time. The deep silence was broken only by the dashing of the waves against the shore, by the shouts of the Indians, or by the doleful moaning of the sea-birds. There were dark jungles into which the rays of the sun had never penetrated, and in which wild beasts had made their homes. Savages skulked behind forest trees and gazed with wonder and suspicion upon the pale faces of the Europeans. They had never seen such men before. If we would know the feelings of the early American explorers we should try to picture the New World as they saw it four hundred years ago.

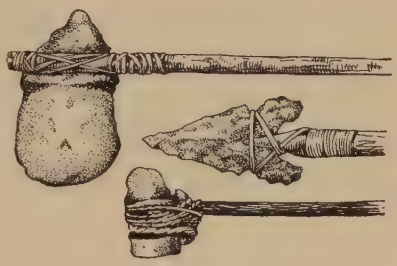
The Native Races. The people whom the explorers found in this country were very different from Europeans. They were tall, straight, slender, muscular, and rather handsome in appearance. Their skin was dark brown or copper color, and the men had almost no beard, because they were in the habit of pulling the hair from the face by the roots.

The Indian is usually pictured as a sad and gloomy man who seldom smiled. This is not quite true. In important public meetings and when talking with white men, he was usually dignified and solemn in appearance; but in the wigwam, or by the camp-fire, he was social and cheery. He smoked his pipe

and talked and joked with his friends as white men are accustomed to do.

When being tortured in public, he could bear any kind of pain without a murmur; but on other occasions he would whine over a slight injury as much as any one.

His sight and hearing were remarkably keen. This was because his eye and ear were trained by his mode of living. When hunting, fighting, or fishing, he was on the lookout constantly for game or for an enemy. He was also straining his ear for every sound of the forest. His senses of sight and sound thus became very acute as a result of long practice.



INDIAN TOOLS AND WEAPONS

The stone axe was chipped and ground out at the expense of great labor. The flint spear head was shaped and pointed with much skill. The hammer cost considerable labor, and all were securely joined to handles by means of thongs of rawhide.

Making a Living. The streams and forests of the New World abounded in fish and game, and the Indian made a considerable part of his living by hunting and fishing. He also ate berries, seeds, roots, acorns, and the bark of certain trees. Wild grapes, prickly pears, rice, cranberries, and choke cherries were greatly prized. He also cultivated the soil and raised corn, beans, squashes, sunflower seeds, tobacco, and other agricultural products.

For his animal food he was fond of grasshoppers, seals, the walrus, deer, mountain sheep and goats, the antelope, and, above all, of the buffalo, which was very plentiful in early times and was called by the Spanish explorers the "hump-backed cow." He was also fond of fish and was quite skillful in catching them. In making traps for wild game he showed a great deal of ingenuity.

He made splendid bows, arrows, spears, and clubs for war-

fare and for the killing of game. He often covered himself with the skin of an animal in order to deceive the game which he wished to catch. In some localities he made excellent harpoons and spears for the killing of whales. After the coming of the whites he became a skillful horseman and used his tough and tireless ponies in hunting the buffalo on the western plains.

AN INDIAN DOG READY FOR HIS LOAD
These strong, faithful, and intelligent animals were valuable friends of the Red Man. This dog — a fine fellow — has carried huge loads of game, fish, and fuel to the wigwam of his master. He has also been of great assistance at moving time.

Cooking. After obtaining his food it was necessary to cook it. He had no matches or stoves and was compelled to make his fire in a very crude way. One method was by means of the so-called "fire-drill." One piece of wood was made to revolve rapidly upon another and the friction produced fire. By bringing this flame into contact with the dry leaves and branches of the forest, a good fire for cooking was soon made. Sometimes the fire was started by sparks obtained from flint.

MAKING FIRE
The string was wound around the spindle and by pulling the bow from side to side the spindle was made to revolve rapidly. The friction caused fire.

The Indian cooked his meat by roasting it over an open fire, or by boiling it in a piece of rude pottery. In the latter case he heated the water in the vessel by dropping hot stones into it.

In some cases the Indian smoked his meat or dried it in long strips in the sun. This was later pounded up and mixed with fat for relish. He also smoked or dried his fish when he was lucky enough to have an extra supply. He liked the taste of salt and

sometimes went long distances to get it from springs or mountain sides.

Weapons. The Indian was very skillful in making simple tools and weapons. Perhaps his most useful weapon was the bow. This he made from some tough elastic wood or from the horn of a buffalo or mountain sheep. The arrow was made of

INDIAN PUEBLO, OR VILLAGE, OF TAOS, NEW MEXICO
Some of the Indians lived in large houses made of sun-dried bricks.

hard wood or reed and was tipped with eagle feathers and pointed with flint. Sometimes this point was tipped with deadly poison.

The hatchet or tomahawk was in constant use both in warfare and the chase. It figured in all of the hand-to-hand fights in the forest. Long lances and stone war clubs were also frequently used.

Warfare. The Indians were constantly at war, either among themselves or with the white man. They had no trained armies such as the leading nations of the world now have. They were

in the habit of surprising the enemy by sudden attacks and they led their foes into ambuscades whenever they could. Indian warfare was made up of unexpected raids, bloody massacres, scalping, hand-to-hand fighting, burning and plundering, and sneaking away through the tall grass or behind trees. The Indian carried on war for defense, for revenge, for plunder, and sometimes merely for the love of fighting.

AN INDIAN LODGE

The lodge or village was the center of Indian life. To it the Indian brave returned from his fishing and hunting expeditions, while the patient squaw remained at home and did the work about the wigwam. The village was often a busy scene, especially when a company of braves were returning from a successful foray. Children, dogs, ponies, scalps, feathers, pipes, and weapons abounded.

Houses. The Indians usually lived in a small pointed house called a wigwam. This was made of poles covered with brush, bark, or the skins of animals. Sometimes it was coated with dirt or sod. In Mexico and Central America the Indians frequently made immense houses one thousand feet in diameter and two hundred feet high. These huge structures, made of stone, mortar, and mud, sheltered a number of families.

A cluster of wigwams and houses formed the Indian village. These villages were usually small, containing only a few hundred inhabitants — sometimes less. They were situated on some convenient watercourse, and near a good supply of food.

Amusements. All nations have had their amusements and the American Indian was no exception to the rule. He ran foot races and played lacrosse and other athletic games. He also played football. He made a large cover of buffalo skin, stuffed it with hair, and kicked it about upon the ground.

The children about the wigwam were a happy set. They had bows and headless arrows and practiced by shooting at marks. Sometimes they hunted squirrels, birds, rabbits, and prairie chickens, and even ducks and geese. They practiced in sham battles, and were very fond of swimming, diving, and wrestling. They often made clay images of dogs, horses, and other animals. The girls had their dolls and took delight in making moccasins and other clothing for them. Play-houses were also made. Even the girls played a kind of football and sometimes ran foot races. Both boys and girls delighted in coasting down hill upon sleds with runners made of buffalo ribs.

The dance was almost universal among the Indians. Before starting out upon the war-path, the braves put on their paint and war-feathers and danced in order "to inflame their passion and increase their enthusiasm." Upon their return from a successful raid they danced again and often went through a lot of wild revelries. For music they had whistles and rattles and many kinds of drums.

Religion. The Indian was not very religious, but he did think that the souls of the dead went to a far-off "happy hunting ground." Weapons of various kinds were buried with the body in order that they might be used by the owner. Dead bodies were placed in graves, pits, caves, and huts. Sometimes the corpse was placed in a tree or upon a high platform out of reach of wild animals. In many cases the burial ceremony was carried out with great care, but in some instances the body of

the dead person was thrown out to be devoured by birds and beasts.

The Indian physician was known as the Shaman or Medicine-man. He was supposed to be able to drive out the spirit of illness from the body of a sick person. He danced and sang and went through various motions in the presence of the sick man, and if the spirit of illness was not driven out, there was usually some good excuse for the failure.

Importance of the Indian. The Indians are no longer important in American history. Their numbers have been reduced and they are now confined for the most part to small reservations located in the West. A small number of Indians, however, have become successful farmers, and some of the younger ones are attending schools supported by the government and are making good progress in education. The race as a whole is gradually vanishing from the American continent, though not so rapidly as some people think. When Columbus came, in 1492, there were probably about five hundred thousand Indians in North America. At the present time there are nearly four hundred thousand but the number is slowly decreasing. Certain diseases which the Indian has taken from the white man, such as tuberculosis (consumption), are slowly carrying him off. In the course of time the full-blooded Indian will probably vanish from the American continent as the buffalo has vanished from the western plains.

AN INDIAN BURIAL

This is one of the many ways in which the Indians disposed of the bodies of their dead.

While the Indian is now of no particular importance in American life, we are reminded of him on every hand. The Indian

languages have given musical names to many of our states, counties, mountains, lakes, and rivers, and Indian trails can still be traced, and in many instances have been widened and made into turnpike roads. "Their name is on your waters — ye may not wash it out."

Sometimes the Indian was a friend to the early colonist, and sometimes his deadly foe. At one time he would set fire to the settler's cabin, and torture, murder, and scalp its inmates; at another he would help the colonist over a starving time by giving him corn, beans, pumpkins, and jerked meat. We shall have occasion to notice from time to time the influence of the Indian upon the planting of the American colonies.

CHAPTER III

THE PHYSICAL FEATURES OF NORTH AMERICA

A NOTED writer has remarked, "History without geography is all in the air." And so it is. You cannot understand the history of the United States without knowing something of its physical geography. It is a well-known fact that the physical features of a country have a marked influence upon its history. If an intelligent traveler had carefully studied the physical features of the United States, even before a single colony had been founded, he would have been able to foretell, to some extent, what the future history of the country would be. It would have been plain to him that New England, with its swift rivers and good water power, would be a manufacturing district; and that the South, with its broad table-lands and sluggish navigable rivers, would be an agricultural region. He could have seen that the Mississippi Valley would raise grain and cattle, and that the Rocky and Appalachian Mountains would be the scenes of great mining activity. He could have predicted that important cities would be built where New York, Boston, Chicago, Duluth, and San Francisco now stand. These places have excellent locations for doing business. In short, mountains, plains, rivers, and seacoasts have an important influence upon the life of a people.

The Atlantic and Pacific Coasts. The reader will notice by referring to the map that the high land of the United States is for the most part west of the Mississippi River. The Pacific coast is high and steep, has very few good harbors, and it is exceedingly difficult at most places to make a landing upon it. The eastern coast is very different. The Atlantic seaboard extends inland a distance of about one hundred miles and slopes gently up to the

PHYSICAL MAP OF THE UNITED STATES

mountains. In addition to this there are many fine harbors scattered along the coast from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Galveston. On the Pacific coast there are very few navigable rivers, while there are many upon the Atlantic.

Routes of the Explorers. It will be seen from what has been said and from a study of the map that the exploration and colonization of North America were much easier from the east to the west than they would have been in the opposite direction. If Columbus had discovered the Pacific instead of the Atlantic coast, the early explorer would have had a terrible time in making his way into the interior of the continent. On the other hand the explorers from Europe easily got a foothold upon the Atlantic coast; they discovered safe and inviting harbors, and found it easily possible to get into the interior by sailing up the St. Lawrence, the Hudson, the Potomac, or the James. These rivers led them to the headwaters of other streams or to the Great Lakes, and made it possible for them to reach all parts of the continent. The explorer might, for example, ascend the St. Lawrence River, pass on to the Great Lakes, and by carrying his canoe a short distance at any one of the several places (called portages) might reach the upper part of the Mississippi River. By going down the Mississippi to the present site of St. Louis he could reach the mouth of the Missouri, and by going up this river to its headwaters, and by carrying his canoe again for a short distance, he could reach the upper course of the Columbia. By paddling down this river he could reach the Pacific, having crossed the continent almost entirely by water. By making use of the map the reader will be able to trace other routes which the early explorers might, and actually did, take into the interior or even across the continent. No part of our history is more picturesque and interesting than the story of these explorers and woodrangers who pushed their way on foot, on horseback, and in canoes from ocean to ocean, and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico.

We have studied the story of the discovery and exploration of

the United States. We have seen the Indian in his forest home, and have noted the physical features of North America. We are now ready to turn our attention to the planting of colonies in the New World.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. What would have been the easiest route for an explorer to take, with his canoe, from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast? About how many miles would he travel?
2. Make a list of the large cities of the United States which have advantageous locations. How do you explain the growth and importance of such a city as Indianapolis?
3. Did the Indian fur trade have any influence upon the location of American cities?

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

1. Thwaites, "Colonies," 2–7.
2. Ellen Churchill Semple, "American History and Its Geographic Conditions," 19–35 (Rivers); see map opposite p. 28 for portages; 52–74 (Westward Movement); 201–224 (Northern Trails to Far West); 337–365 (Cities and Industries).

CHAPTER IV

THE PLANTING OF THE COLONIES

For many years after the coming of Columbus, explorers wandered about in the forests of the New World and paddled their canoes up and down its great rivers without thinking very seriously of colonization. They were looking for gold and silver and for fountains and streams which would give them perpetual youth. They searched the continent for wealthy cities which they might plunder, and bought valuable furs from the Indians for bits of colored glass and other trinkets. They wanted to become rich quickly. After a time, however, the Europeans saw that the wealth of the American continent lay in its forests and mines, and, most of all, in the fertility of its soil. They then turned their attention to agriculture and to the planting of colonies.

Colony. A colony is composed of a number of people who go from their native land to make homes in a new country. Sometimes they remain under the control of the mother country and sometimes they do not. The English colonies at this time were under the complete control of the mother country. They were also looked upon as a source of profit. They were expected to pay taxes to the mother state, to buy her goods and to sell valuable products to her in return. The colonists were governed by the king and the home government, but claimed all the rights and privileges of Englishmen, just as if they still lived in England.

To plant a colony in a new country is a very difficult task. The life of a pioneer is a hard one. The early settler is forced

to brave the dangers of the ocean and the forest, and to fight against wild beasts and savage men, as well as hunger, cold, and disease. It was no easy task to build a log cabin and to make a living on the bleak shores of the North American continent in the seventeenth century.

Spanish Explorations before 1600

This being true, there must have been some inducement which caused the colonists to come to the New World. There were, in fact, several inducements. Sometimes the colonists wished to escape from an oppresssive and tyrannical government. Sometimes they had a desire for religious freedom — a longing to worship as they saw fit; again, others came to make money, or to satisfy a love for adventure and enterprise. All of the European nations were anxious to establish colonies in the New World in order to increase their strength and extend their power.

The Spanish Colonies

The Spaniards were the first to come to America, and they were also the first to establish colonies here. In 1565 Menendez, a Spanish soldier, founded St. Augustine in Florida — *the first permanent colony on the main land of what is now the United States.* Seven years later the Spaniards founded Santa Fé and pushed on to the Pacific coast, going as far north as Puget Sound.

French Settlements

Samuel de Champlain. The French were also early settlers in America, and we now come to the story of one of the ablest of the pioneers of the New World. The founder of New France in America, the greatest of the French explorers and colonizers, was the resolute and dauntless Samuel de Champlain. This skillful navigator, bold cavalryman, and daring explorer sailed from France in the spring of 1603. His company ascended the St. Lawrence in a single ship and landed near the present site of Quebec. Six of the men pushed on in a canoe to Lachine Rapids, a few miles above Montreal. After a brief visit to France, Champlain spent three years more beating about the coasts of New England and the St. Lawrence region. In 1608 he founded a settlement — *the first permanent one in Canada* — which he named Quebec, from an Indian word meaning "the narrows." The site was a beautiful

CHAMPLAIN

Champlain came from a family of fishermen and sailors. In 1599 he went to Mexico with a Spanish fleet and commanded one of the vessels. He was a masterful leader and a devout Christian. He also wished to have the Indians instructed in the Christian religion.

one for a post, overlooking as it did the magnificent river and the picturesque Canadian country. Champlain's practiced eye was also quick to see that the heights about Quebec would be important from a military standpoint. He saw that the place could be easily defended from the attacks of a hostile army.

Champlain continued for many years to be the leading man in New France. In 1609 he discovered the lake which now bears his name, and by 1615 he had pushed as far west as the Ottawa River and Lake Huron.

A WOODRANGER

These hardy Frenchmen pushed their way into the very heart of the new continent. When night fell they feasted, sang, and danced with the Indians, then slept in the wigwam or under the open sky and resumed their journey with the break of day.

Other Explorers. After Champlain had opened the way, the French came in large numbers. Soldiers, daring adventurers, enterprising fur traders and trappers, pious priests and lawless woodrangers, pushed into the interior of the continent where the face of a white man had never been seen before. These hardy explorers broke the stillness of the forest with the splash of their canoe paddles and the crack of their guns. They also brought the Christian religion to the New World. In 1641 some Jesuit priests said mass in the presence of two thousand savage Indians where Sault Ste. Marie now stands.

The French had been told by the Indians that a great river lay farther to the west; and in 1673 Father Marquette and Joliet, a French trader, started in search of it. They paddled down the Wisconsin River and finally came to the Mississippi. These were the first white men to set eyes upon the upper course of the great river which De Soto had discovered in 1541. About the same time (1680) Father Hennepin, another Jesuit priest, pushed his way up the Mississippi River as far as St. Anthony Falls, where the city of Minneapolis now stands.

We come now to the story of La Salle, a man of iron will

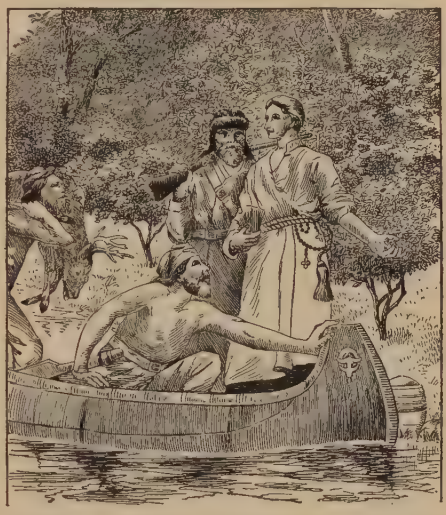
and one of the most brilliant of the American explorers. In 1679–1682 he explored the Mississippi Valley from the Illinois River to the Gulf of Mexico. He had heard of the great river and was

French Explorations and Old French Trading Posts

anxious to plant the flag of his country at its very mouth. When he reached the end of his journey, in 1682, he raised a rude column, unfurled the banner of France, and took possession of all the land drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries, in the name

of the king of France. He built a fort, which he called St. Louis, and gave the name Louisiana to a large tract of land lying along both banks of the Mississippi.

The Objects of the French. The French were thus spreading themselves over an immense territory, but it should be noted that they were not taking possession of the land for immediate colonization. They wished to hold the country for future occupation by their countrymen. In order to do this, they built forts at important points along the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi. These posts were centers of activity for the priest and the trader. Mass was said and trade was carried on with the Indians. In order to make their claim to the land more secure, they buried plates of lead with inscriptions upon them laying claim to the land in the name of the king of France. Thus New France was founded, as has been said, with one end in the cane-brakes of Louisiana and the other in the snows of Canada.



FATHER MARQUETTE ENTERING THE WISCONSIN RIVER

Father Marquette, one of the most noted French explorers, came to Canada in 1666. He was a Jesuit priest and did missionary work among the Indians. In 1674 he built a rude hut where the city of Chicago now stands. Worn out by his missionary work, he died in 1675.

The English Colonies

The first permanent English settlement in America was made at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607. This was more than one hun-

dred years after John Cabot had made his famous voyage to the Atlantic coast. During this time, however, England was not idle. Her brilliant and daring seamen were to be found in every part of the globe. Sir Francis Drake sailed around the world (1577–1580) and Frobisher and Davis carried the English flag to the extreme north and west. These bold sea-rovers, however, were intent upon exploration, gold hunting, and the plundering of Spanish ships, and had little thought of colonization. For them, adventure was the spice of life. They loved to chase, capture, and plunder a rich treasure-ship, but did not care to build log huts and plant corn and beans in the wilderness.

Gilbert and Raleigh. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a member of Parliament, was the first Englishman to attempt to found a colony in the New World. In 1579 he and his stepbrother, Walter Raleigh, went to Newfoundland and attempted to establish a colony at that place. They had heard of the large number of fine fish which were caught there and thought it a good place for a profitable settlement. They failed. Four years later (1583) Gilbert again went to Newfoundland. Soon after, he loaded one of his ships with rock supposed to contain silver ore and set out for home. The ship upon which he sailed, the *Golden Hind*, was lost on the voyage and Gilbert went down with her. The vessel bearing the worthless rock came to port in safety.

Raleigh persevered and spent a fortune of forty thousand pounds ($200,000) in an attempt to found a colony in America. He abandoned the icy banks of Newfoundland and turned to the milder climate of the South. In 1584 he sent two vessels to the south Atlantic coast. His men named the country Virginia in honor of Elizabeth, the maiden queen of England. They made no settlement, but they became acquainted with the Indians and reported them to be "people most gentle, loving, and faithful." The English colonists of a later time had a very different story to tell.

"The Lost Colony." Raleigh made still other attempts as, unlike most other men of his time, he thought that America was

worth colonizing. In 1585 he sent about a hundred colonists to Roanoke Island. They were a shiftless and worthless lot. They could play the pirate or hunt for gold, but tilling the soil was too hard work for them. They became homesick and returned to England in the following year. A little later, fifteen men were sent to the place and given the lonesome task of holding the site of the colony.

Sir Walter Raleigh

Raleigh was a famous sea-rover, soldier, colonizer, and adventurer. He was also an able writer and wrote a history of the world. He disobeyed the King of England, was convicted of treason, and beheaded in the London Tower, the famous old prison on the Thames River.

Still Raleigh was not discouraged, and in 1587 he sent John White with another band of colonists to the Carolina coast. They came to Roanoke, but could find no trace of the fifteen men who had been left there the year before. The fort was in ruins and deer were quietly grazing upon the spot where the colony once stood. White left a company of eighty-nine men, women, and children and returned to England in the same year (1587). When he came back to Roanoke, three years later, he found that all of the colonists had disappeared. They had probably been massacred or had gone to live with the Indians, and are spoken of to this day as "Raleigh's Lost Colony."

Trading Companies Organized. Raleigh had spent his own fortune and all of the money he could get from the queen as well, and had failed. It was now plain that the planting of colonies in America was too large and too costly an enterprise for individuals to undertake. Accordingly, companies were organized for the purpose of doing what Gilbert and Raleigh had failed to accomplish.

On April 10, 1606, King James I granted a charter to a company consisting of two branches or parts. One of these branches had its headquarters at London and was known as the London Company. To this body of men the king gave the right to occupy a tract of land one hundred miles square situated anywhere between thirty-four degrees and forty-one degrees north latitude. The other branch had its headquarters at Plymouth and was called the Plymouth Company. To this company the king gave a similar grant between thirty-eight and forty-five degrees north latitude. The land of the London Company thus extended from Long Island on the north to the mouth of the Cape Fear River on the south, while that of the Plymouth Company stretched from the northern boundary of New York to the Potomac River.[1]

The King Governed the Colonies. It was provided in these charters that the government of all the colonies which the companies might found should be in the hands of the king. Each colony was to be governed by a council of thirteen men, but these men were to be appointed by the king and were to obey any rules which he might see fit to make. So when the London Company sent a band of colonists to America, the king sent rules and instructions with them. He said that his own power and that of the Church of England should always be maintained in the colony. In addition to this he set forth the way in which land should be held and owned. It was further agreed that the profits from the colonies were to go to the company for twenty-one years, and then to the king.

Virginia, 1607

Jamestown. The London Company was the first to act under the new charter. On December 19, 1606, one hundred

[1] It will be noticed that there was an overlapping of three degrees. In order to avoid a quarrel between the two companies, the king said that neither should make a settlement between thirty-eight degrees and forty-one degrees nearer than one hundred miles to one already established in this zone by the other company.

and forty-three colonists set sail in three small ships for the New World under the command of Christopher Newport. After a tiresome voyage lasting about four months, land was sighted on the 16th of April, 1607, and soon after, the company sailed up the river which they named the James, in honor of the king. On the 13th of May they landed on the north bank, about forty or fifty miles above the mouth of the river, and there selected a site for their new home, which they named Jamestown.

Things did not go well. The site selected was a low-lying peninsula infested with mosquitoes, and soon the people were shaking with chills and burning with fever. The colonists were lazy and quarrelsome. About one half of them were "gentlemen," so called, and had never done any work with their hands. They considered work beneath their dignity, and apparently thought that all they had to do in America was to eat, drink, and be merry. They soon found themselves to be sadly mistaken. Within two weeks from the time of landing the Indians made a savage attack upon the little settlement. Disease lurked in the swamps, the water was bad, and the heat intense. One half of the colonists died during the first summer and the outlook for Jamestown was a gloomy one.

THE FIRST ENGLISH COLONY

John Smith, the Savior of the Colony. In the little company there was a man named John Smith. Smith was a braggart, and did not always tell the truth. He was vain, boastful, and deceitful, but at the same time he was a brave soldier and a man of courage, energy, and ability. Smith was made president of the colony and immediately set the idlers to work. "He that

will not work shall not eat," he declared; and he meant what he said. He drilled the men, repaired the fortifications, and explored the surrounding country. For two years Smith was the mainspring of the Jamestown colony and undoubtedly saved it from failure. He was shrewd enough to see the real difficulty and begged the company to send him carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, and gardeners, instead of "gentlemen" and idlers, of whom he had too many already.

The severest blow which the colony suffered in these early days was the departure of John Smith for England in October, 1609. The strong arm was taken away and was not returned. After Smith's departure the colony sank into a wretched condition. It suffered from hunger, disease, Indian attacks, and, worst of all, from laziness. The colonists were so shiftless that they chopped up their houses for fire-wood, although they were living in a dense wilderness. They allowed the planting season to go by without putting in crops, although the Indians had fields of corn, peas, beans, and squashes near by. They did little hunting, although there was an abundance of wild game. The forests were full of wild turkeys, deer, squirrels, and rabbits, and the bays and lakes were dotted with ducks and geese. Oysters, fish, and crabs abounded in near-by waters and could be easily gotten. Yet the colonist neither hunted, trapped, nor fished, but bowled upon the green, or sat idly by and waited for a food supply to come to him from England. Affairs were in a desperate condition, and in 1610, the year after Smith's departure, the colonists were on the point of giving up the whole project. In fact, in June of that year they went on board their vessels, which were small open boats, and sailed down the river with the intention of going to Newfoundland. Near the mouth of the river they met Lord Delaware, the new governor, who had arrived just in time to save the colony. Delaware turned them back to Jamestown, and set them to work.

Delaware. Delaware was an able and energetic man and soon put new life into the colony. He found Jamestown "a forlorn

ruin full of dead men's bones," but soon brought about great changes. The little church which had been abandoned was enlarged and repaired and religious services were again held. Many drones became busy workers and the colony began to wake up. Fresh misfortunes, however, came upon the distressed settlement. The well from which the people obtained their water was shallow and foul and caused much sickness.

Sir Thomas Dale. Delaware, smitten with fever, left the colony a few months after his arrival. His successor was Sir Thomas Dale. Dale was vigorous and even harsh, and the colonists soon saw that he meant to govern in earnest. "He ruled the men of Jamestown as a master rules his slaves." He soon reduced them to order and got other colonists of a more useful class to come to Virginia. Servants and workingmen were among the newcomers and the colony prospered better than before.

House of Burgesses. Its form of government was also improved. A very important step was taken in the summer of 1619 in the time of Governor Yeardley. Yeardley came from England with instructions to call a general assembly for the making of laws. He did so, and on July 30, 1619, the Virginia House of Burgesses was assembled in the little church at Jamestown. *This assembly was the first representative legislature that ever met in America.* It was made up of twenty-two burgesses or representatives, there being two from each of the eleven boroughs or towns. This House of Burgesses together with the governor and his council of advisors made the laws for the colony, subject to the approval of the company in London.

Representative Government. The assembling of the Virginia House of Burgesses marks the beginning of representative government in the United States. Perhaps a word should be said in regard to this important principle of government. Among the ancient nations, when the people wished to make laws, *all* of the voters assembled at some convenient place and voted *for* or *against* whatever might be proposed. This plan worked very well in cities and small states, but it became inconvenient at a

later time for all of the voters of a large country to go to the capital for the purpose of making laws. It would be inconvenient, for example, for the voters of Indiana to go to Indianapolis and sit as a law-making body; and it would be practically impossible for the voters of the United States to go to Washington, D. C., to make laws. When this inconvenience appeared in England, it was done away with in a very simple way. Instead of having all the voters assembled to make laws, a small number of the leading men were chosen to represent those who stayed at home. This was the origin of the principle of representation in government—the most important governmental principle ever invented. It had been in use in England for several centuries before the founding of Jamestown, and the colonists naturally brought the idea to America with them. The principle of representation is now used in our national, state, and city governments.

THE FIRST LANDING OF SLAVES IN VIRGINIA, 1619

From this time on many vessels were engaged in carrying slaves from Africa to the American colonies.

Slavery Introduced, 1619. In the same year slavery was introduced into Virginia. A Dutch vessel sailed up the James river in 1619 and sold twenty African slaves to the colonists. The seeds of the great Civil War between the North and the South were carried in this old Dutch vessel. It should be remembered, however, that at this time the negro was everywhere looked upon as a burden-bearer, and it had not occurred to any one that slavery was wrong.

Homes Established, 1619. In spite of all the hardships, the little colony continued to grow, and when it was thirteen years old it had about four thousand people. Many of the men were

now working in earnest and tilling the soil. Agricultural implements as well as farm animals — horses, cows, and hogs —were brought over. Tobacco was the principal crop and was used as money at one time.

The early colonists were all men. In 1609 and later there were a few women in the colony, and in 1619 — a memorable year — a shipload of them arrived in Jamestown. They became the wives of the settlers and real homes were established in Virginia.

The Indians Become Hostile. The colonists suffered from Indian attacks. The Indians of Virginia lived a more comfortable life and were far less savage than those of many other parts of North America. Powhatan, the famous chief of the Indians who lived near Jamestown, was very friendly to John Smith and his men, but Powhatan's brother, who succeeded him in power, was not so friendly to the whites. In 1622 a fight between a colonist and a red man brought on an Indian attack. About three hundred and seventy of the whites were slain, some of them while working in their fields, and the very life of the colony was in danger. Such an attack would probably have been fatal during the "starving time" which followed the departure of John Smith.

Governor Berkeley. It is not possible to tell the story of all the governors of Virginia, but a word should be said about Sir William Berkeley, one of the most noted of the later governors. He was a man of great ability, yet narrow-minded. He was opposed to education, and said: "I thank God there are no free schools or printing, and I hope we shall not have these for a hundred years." He thought that it was easier to govern ignorant men than those who were educated.

The Growth of the Colony. The colony kept on growing in numbers in spite of its misfortunes, and in 1700 there were about one hundred thousand people in Virginia. Education, too, in spite of what Governor Berkeley had said, was not entirely neglected. William and Mary College was founded at Williams-

burg, a short distance from Jamestown, in 1693. This was the second college founded in America, Harvard being the first, in 1636.

The success of the colony was no longer in doubt, as the people had now settled down to agriculture and the gold-hunting fever had largely passed away.

The Coming of the Cavaliers. One of the most important events in the history of the colony was the coming of the "Cavaliers." The Stuart kings, who were reigning in England at the time, were exceedingly headstrong and tyrannical, and the people under the leadership of Oliver Cromwell rose against one of them (Charles I), drove him from the throne, and brought him to the block. The supporters of the king were known as Cavaliers, and many of them, fearing the hostility of Cromwell and disgusted with the government, came to Virginia. Many of these Cavaliers were men of culture, wealth, and refinement, and came from some of the best families in England. They formed a striking contrast to the "gentlemen" of the early days of the colony. They raised the tone of Virginia, became leaders in politics, and from their ranks came many of the great statesmen and soldiers for whom Virginia has since been noted. Although they were loyal supporters of the king, many of their descendants fought valiantly with pen and sword against another king (George III) in the American Revolution.

CHURCH TOWER AT JAMESTOWN
This picture, from a recent photograph, shows the old brick tower at Jamestown — all that remains of John Smith's famous colony.

Jamestown is usually spoken of as the first *permanent* English settlement in America. As a matter of fact, there is no such place at the present time. The town was burned in 1676 and was never rebuilt. The ruins of a brick church tower are now all that remain to mark the site of Jamestown.

A great exposition was held at Norfolk, Virginia, in 1907 in honor of the 300th anniversary of the first successful English colony in America.

New York, 1614

We must now leave Virginia and turn our attention to New York. The Jamestown colony was but two years old when a

MANHATTAN ISLAND, SEPTEMBER, 1609

An interesting old picture showing Hudson's ship, the *Half Moon*, standing at anchor. This point of land has witnessed vast changes in the last three hundred years. The tall buildings of New York City now cover this spot.

company of men from Holland, in a queer little boat, appeared in what is now New York harbor. They came under the command of Henry Hudson, a famous English navigator and explorer, who was in the employ of the Dutch East India Company. This company was interested in trade with the East, and, like many others, wished to find a water route to India.

On April 4, 1609, Hudson sailed from Amsterdam in his

famous little boat, the *Half Moon*. He had received a letter from his friend, Captain John Smith of Jamestown, in which it was stated that there might be a passage leading to India somewhere to the north of Chesapeake Bay. So Hudson sailed in that direction, and on September 3, 1609, he anchored in New York harbor. He then sailed up the beautiful river, which now bears his name, as far as the present site of Albany. He was delighted with the wonderful beauty of the scenery, and any one who has visited the famous Hudson River highlands will agree with him that the land is "as beautiful as the foot of man ever trod upon." He traded with the Indians and had many friendly visits with them. He tells us that in one instance they prepared a feast for him consisting of two pigeons and a fat dog, but that he did not accept the invitation of the red men to dine.

EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN NEW YORK

Fort Nassau, 1614. The first settlement in what is now the State of New York was made in 1614 by the Dutch at Fort Nassau, a few miles south of the present site of Albany. In the following year a trading post and a few cabins were built on Manhattan Island. Later a post called Fort Orange was established where Albany now stands. In 1626 the Dutch bought Manhattan Island from the Indians for $24. This sum would now be equivalent to about $120. In some parts of Manhattan this amount of money would scarcely purchase enough land at the present time for a man to stand on.

The little group of settlements was called New Netherland in honor of the home land, and a trading post which stood on

the present site of New York City was known as New Amsterdam.

The Patroons. The Dutch colony had a good location on a fine harbor and a great river, but it did not make satisfactory progress because the people paid too much attention to trade and too little to agriculture. In order to encourage the colonists to till the soil an interesting plan was tried in 1629. This plan provided that any member of the Dutch West India Company, founding a settlement anywhere outside Manhattan, of fifty or more persons above fifteen years of age, should be given a tract of land on the Hudson River extending for sixteen miles on one side or for eight miles on the two sides, and as far into the interior as the situation of the occupiers would permit. The founder of the colony was called the "patroon" or patron, and the people living on his immense plantation were to be under his control. At a later time (1640) the estate of the patroon was limited to one mile of river front and extended two miles back from the water.

Peter Stuyvesant. The patroon system was a great success. It increased the interest in agriculture and drew many settlers to the new colony. People who had been persecuted because of religion also came to New Netherland from all parts of Europe. Here they could worship in their own way. New Netherland thus became a place of refuge for the oppressed of all nations, and in 1643 there were eighteen different languages spoken on the streets of New Amsterdam.

Many of the Dutch rulers were odd and interesting characters. In 1647 Peter Stuyvesant, strutting "like a peacock," came over as governor. Stuyvesant was a gruff but able man, and a strange mixture of good and bad qualities. He has been described as a noble, honest, headstrong, lion-hearted old soldier. He wished to have entire control of the colony and would not give the people or any one else any share in the government. On one occasion he said to a man who had been sentenced to banishment: "If I thought there was any danger of your trying to

appeal [to the legislature of Holland], I would hang you this minute to the tallest tree on the island." The people, however, were not much afraid of this blustering talk and quietly asked for a share in the government. They saw that other American colonies had representative governments and they wished to have similar rights. The governor stormed around a great deal and finally grudgingly granted a small part of their request.

Capture of New Netherland, 1664. In spite of the stubbornness of the governor, the colony continued to grow. The English saw this and became jealous. The English had at this time, as we shall see later, planted colonies on both sides of New Netherland so that the little Dutch settlement was entered like a wedge between the English in New England and those in the South. There could be no unity among the English colonies until this wedge was removed, and even now the Dutch and English had begun to quarrel over boundary lines. In addition to this, the Dutch had possession of the best harbor on the Atlantic coast; and the Hudson River, also under their control, was an important highway for the Indian fur trade. Under these conditions, it was not difficult for the king of England to convince himself that the Dutch were intruders and that the land which they occupied rightfully belonged to the English. He therefore made up his mind to send out an expedition to capture New Netherland, although he really had no good reason for doing so. In August, 1664, an English fleet appeared before New Amsterdam and demanded its surrender. The gruff old governor stumped about fiercely on his wooden leg and said that he would rather be carried to his grave than be compelled to haul down the flag. He was finally obliged to yield, however, as he had only a few soldiers, and in the course of about two months the English had possession of all the Dutch towns, and New Netherland was no more. New Amsterdam became New York and the name of Fort Orange was changed to Albany.

The people were given a greater share in the government than before, and the colony prospered greatly under the rule of

the English. When New Netherland was taken in 1664 there were about ten thousand people in the colony and about sixteen hundred of these were in New Amsterdam. At the close of the century (1700) the population of the New York colony was about twenty-five thousand.

Massachusetts, 1620

The work of colonization was now being pushed at a rapid rate. In the same year in which the Dutch established Fort Nas-

PLYMOUTH ROCK

This picture represents Plymouth Rock as it appears at the present time. The rock is under the granite canopy in the foreground of the picture, a considerable distance from the shore.

sau (1614), John Smith of Jamestown fame returned to America. He explored the northeastern coast of what is now the United States and gave to the region the name which it still bears, "New England."

Plymouth. The first permanent settlement in New England was made at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620. This was thirteen years after the founding of Jamestown and eleven years after Hudson weighed anchor in New York harbor.

"Pilgrim Fathers." The founding of Plymouth leads us to the story of the Pilgrim Fathers. In order to get a clear understanding of the causes which led the Pilgrims to come to America

we should note briefly the various sects or divisions into which the Protestants of England were divided at this time. Many of these Protestants were members of the Church of England, or the Protestant Episcopal Church, as we call it in America. This church was the "Established Church" and was approved and supported by the government. A large number of English Protestants, however, were opposed in some respects to the Church of England. Some of these wished to remain in the church, but

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MILES STANDISH AND HIS STURDY MEN

Captain Miles Standish was the strong defender of the Plymouth Colony. This bold soldier often started on an important military expedition with a mere handful of men and a friendly Indian acting as guide.

were desirous of purifying it, as they said, and hence were called "Puritans." In addition to the Puritans there was another body of Protestants who looked upon the purification of the English Church as a hopeless task, and who, as a result of this view, determined to separate themselves from it. These were called "Separatists," or "Independents." It was a company of Separatists, as we shall see later, who founded the first permanent colony in New England.

Religious Toleration. It does not make very much difference to us now what church our neighbor attends. We feel that he has a right to belong to whatever church he chooses. All denomi-

nations are upon the same footing. In other words, we have complete religious toleration. This was not true in England at the time of which we are speaking. One king would persecute the Roman Catholics, another the Protestants, while a third would punish all who did not belong to the Church of England. James I, who became king in 1603, was especially harsh toward all who would not worship in the Established Church. "I will make them conform," he exclaimed in anger, "or I will harry them out of this land, or else do worse." He did not succeed in making them join the Church of England, but he did drive thousands of people to the bleak coast of New England.

In their distress, the poor people hardly knew which way to turn. Finally, in 1608, some of them determined to seek religious freedom in Holland. In that year a little congregation from the town of Scrooby in north central England went to Amsterdam under the leadership of their beloved pastor, the Reverend John Robinson. This little flock was a sincere, devoted, and industrious band — quite different from the gentlemen and idlers who had gone to Jamestown the year before. After remaining in Amsterdam a short time they went to Leyden. Here they found the religious freedom which they sought, but were not contented. They were "strangers in a strange land." Their children were slowly adopting Dutch customs and they did not like this, because they were Englishmen and dearly loved the country from which they had been driven. They did not wish to remain in Holland and they could not return to England. They accordingly determined to go to America where they might worship in their own way and still live as Englishmen. They then made arrangements to start a colony near the present location of New Jersey.

A part of the congregation left Holland in 1620 and stopped in England on the way to America. After some delay the *Mayflower* set sail on her memorable voyage with about one hundred persons on board. The little boat was beaten about by storms and narrowly missed going to the bottom. On November 19,

the "Pilgrims," as they have since been called, came in sight of the Massachusetts coast. The captain had lost his reckonings and fierce winds had driven the boat farther north than the Pilgrims wished to go. Instead of landing they turned toward the south, but, being unable to make much headway against the gales, they returned to the Massachusetts coast and on December 21, 1620, landed at the spot which John Smith had called Plymouth — tradition says on "Plymouth Rock."

THE MAYFLOWER IN PLYMOUTH HARBOR
The passengers are going ashore in a small boat in the midst of floating ice.

About a month before landing the Pilgrims gathered in the cabin of their ship and signed the famous "Mayflower Compact." They felt that they would need a government of some kind when they landed, and in this compact they declared that they would set up a government and make just laws for the general good.

The First Winter. Building homes on the bleak New England coast in mid-winter was no easy task. The trials of this first winter were terrible. At one time only six or seven of the entire company were able to care for the sick and bury the dead, and when spring came about one half of the whole number were in their graves. Yet the brave hearts of the Pilgrims did not fail them. When the *Mayflower* returned to England in the spring of 1621 not a single colonist returned with her. They put in crops, built better houses, and made ready for the second winter. After the harvest of the first year had been gathered they appointed a day of thanksgiving and prayer — *the first Thanksgiving Day ever observed in America.* Miles Standish, a sturdy

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PLYMOUTH COLONY, 1622

This picture gives one a good idea of the actual appearance of the Plymouth Colony. The building within the enclosure was Governor Bradford's home. The homes of the other colonists are shown on the side hill. The fort was at the top of the hill.

soldier, defended the colony from the Indians, and William Bradford was a splendid governor for thirty years.

Massachusetts Bay Colony. In 1628 John Endicott made a settlement on the Massachusetts coast at a place which he called Salem, meaning *peace*. In the following year (1629) the Massachusetts Bay Company got a charter from the king and did great things in the way of colonization. The charter was granted at a very favorable time. A new king (Charles I) had come to the throne of England in 1625, but he was just as oppressive and tyrannical in matters of religion and government as his predecessor had been. He also drove many good people from their homes and in ten years about twenty thousand persons left England and came to America. This is called the "Puritan Exodus" or "Puritan Migration" and was the most important attempt yet made in the colonization of the New World.

THE BEGINNINGS OF MASSACHUSETTS, CONNECTICUT, AND RHODE ISLAND

In April, 1630, John Winthrop, one of the best of men, sailed for Salem, but left that place almost immediately and went to the present site of Boston. The tide of immigration rapidly increased and eight settlements were made in a single year. Boston was made the capital in 1630, and when the colony was four years old it had four thousand people scattered in twenty towns.

The Puritans had come to America to find religious freedom for themselves, but had no thought of granting the same privilege to others. None but church members were allowed to vote; in fact, Quakers and others who differed from the Puritans in religious belief were not permitted to remain in the colony. Some of them were imprisoned, a few were hanged on Boston Common, and others were driven with lashes out of the colony and warned not to return.

In educational matters the Puritans showed great wisdom and foresight. Many of their leaders were university graduates and favored the establishment of schools and colleges. In 1636 the legislature of Massachusetts voted 400 pounds (about $2,000) for the establishment of a college at Newtown. Two years later the Reverend John Harvard died and left his library and about one half of his estate (about $4,000) to this college. The legislature then decided that the college should be called Harvard and that the name Newtown should be changed to Cambridge in honor of the famous English University. This was the humble beginning of the oldest American college.

New Hampshire and Maine

A few years after the founding of Plymouth, colonies were established in New Hampshire and Maine. In 1622 Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason obtained a grant of land between the Merrimac and the Kennebec rivers, and colonies were planted in that territory soon after. Some independent settlements were being made in New Hampshire at the time that Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island were being settled. These independent towns were joined to Massachusetts soon after their establishment and so remained until made a royal province in 1679. In 1685 New Hampshire was again made a part of Massachusetts.

The early history of Maine is quite similar to that of New Hampshire. As a result of the grant to Gorges and Mason, settlements were made in what is now Maine and these were afterward joined to Massachusetts. Thus Massachusetts came into control of all the English settlements north of Plymouth.

Connecticut, 1635

Connecticut was an offshoot from Massachusetts. In 1635–1636 a large number of Massachusetts people sought homes in

the inviting valley of the Connecticut River. There were several reasons for this change of residence. In the first place, the land in the Connecticut Valley was better than that on the Massachusetts coast. In the second place, the Puritans had gone into the business of cattle raising and wanted more land for pasture. But probably the most important reason lay in the fact that many of the people were dissatisfied with the religious test for voting. These people, upon leaving Massachusetts, went southwest and settled at Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield. The trip was not easy. In one case it took a company of people under the command of their pastor, the Reverend Thomas Hooker, more than two weeks to make the journey of about one hundred miles. They had in some cases to cut a way through the woods for their cattle and the household goods which they brought with them.

HOOKER REACHES CONNECTICUT
When Rev. Thomas Hooker and his followers reached Connecticut they fell on their knees and asked God's blessing upon them in their new home.

A little later (1638) a company of men of high standing came from England and founded New Haven, the seat of Yale University.

The Form of Government. The Massachusetts government exercised almost no control over the people who had gone to Connecticut. This suited the independent Connecticut men exactly and, in 1639, Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield set up a form of government for themselves in which they made no mention of the power of the king of England or of that of Massachusetts. They adopted a written constitution,[1] which made

[1] Called the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut.

them practically an independent republic. This Connecticut constitution is notable as being the first written constitution in the history of the world which was drawn up by the people themselves for their own government. As might be expected it gave the right to vote to every man whether a church member or not. This was an excellent form of government and remained in force for many years.

Rhode Island, 1636

Rhode Island was another offshoot from Massachusetts. The founder of the colony was Roger Williams. Williams was a good and an honest man who meant well, but he must have been a very uncomfortable neighbor. He was always ready to protest against anything which did not seem to him to be exactly right, and he soon got into trouble.

ROGER WILLIAMS AND THE INDIANS

Williams heard that a plot had been made to arrest him and send him to England. He fled at once and came in the dead of winter to the wigwam of Massasoit, chief of the Narragansett Indians. Here he remained for several weeks, living as the Indians lived, without "knowing what bread or bed did mean."

He declared that the land upon which the Massachusetts people were living rightfully belonged to the Indians, and that the king of England had no right whatever to give it away to any one. He also disagreed with his neighbors on matters of religion and said that the church and the government should be independent of each other and that every man should have the right to worship as he saw fit. These ideas offended the Massachusetts men and Williams was brought to trial in 1635 and sen-

tenced to be banished. In January of the following year he fled through the cold, wintry blasts and took refuge in the wigwam of Massasoit, the chief of an Indian tribe which lived in the Narragansett Bay country. Here he purchased a tract of land from the Indians and founded a town which he called "Providence." He set up a very simple kind of government in which the people governed themselves. Two years later he founded the first Baptist Church in America. Providence is now the seat of Brown University, one of the leading institutions of learning in America. More important still is the fact that Providence is the birthplace of complete political and religious liberty in the United States.

The New England Confederation, 1643-1684. Many little towns were now scattered about in various parts of New England. Before 1643 these places had very little to do with one another. There were almost no neighborly dealings. The time had now come, however, when the colonists thought that there should be a union of some kind. They might be called upon to defend themselves at any time and they felt that in such a case they should act together. They might have to oppose the king — he was not altogether pleased at their independent spirit; they might have to fight against the Dutch who were growing strong in New Netherland; they might be called to arms against the French who were taking possession of the North and West; and they might be awakened any night by an Indian war-whoop at their doors. In any case the colonists felt that union would give them strength. Accordingly the people of Massachusetts Bay, New Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven united under the name "United Colonies of New England." They drew up a form of government and placed the power in the hands of eight men called commissioners — two from each colony. These commissioners had charge of all matters of common interest, such as the carrying on of war, while each colony managed its own local affairs as it saw fit.

The formation of this confederation was an important step

in developing the idea of union and a spirit of independence among the people. It lasted for forty-one years, or until 1684.

Maryland, 1634

We must now turn our attention to the Roman Catholic colony of Maryland. Four years after the founding of Boston, the first settlement was made in what is now the State of Maryland. It came about in this way: George Calvert, later named Lord Baltimore, had watched the Virginia colony very carefully and had come to the conclusion that no colony on a purely commercial basis could succeed. He therefore concluded to found one based partly on religion. Calvert was a Roman Catholic and a great favorite of the king and succeeded in getting a large amount of land lying north of the Potomac River. He was to pay a yearly rent of two arrow heads and to give the king one fifth of all the gold and silver which he might find. The land in the grant was named Maryland, at the king's request, in honor of the queen, Henrietta Maria.

EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN MARYLAND

Soon after the grant was obtained, Calvert died, and in November, 1633, his son, Cecil, sent two hundred colonists to the New World. In the following March they founded St. Mary's on the Potomac River.

Religious Toleration, 1649. While the proprietor was a Roman Catholic, many of the colonists were Protestants. These, however, were granted religious toleration. The result was that they were contented and the colony prospered. Persecuted religious sects soon came from all quarters to seek religious freedom in the new colony. They were not disappointed. In 1649 the famous Toleration Act was passed which provided that no

Christian should be interfered with in any way in the practice of his religion. This was much better than the Puritan plan, but still no provision was made for Jews or others not members of a Christian church. In Maryland the people did not have complete religious toleration such as Roger Williams had established in Rhode Island.

Maryland a Royal Province, 1691. At first the government of the colony was entirely in the hands of the proprietor. At a later time the people obtained a part in it and had a representative legislature. In 1691 Maryland became a royal province, and the government was placed in the hands of the king.

The Carolinas, 1663

In 1663 the king of England gave a large tract of land, lying south of Virginia, to a small group of his personal friends. Before this grant was made, however, a colony had been founded on Albemarle Sound — the first permanent one within the present boundaries of North Carolina. This settlement was made by a small band of colonists who had migrated from Virginia. North Carolina was thus an offshoot from Virginia, as Connecticut was from Massachusetts.

EARLY SETTLEMENTS ON THE SOUTH ATLANTIC COAST

A few years later a town was started where Charleston now stands. The site was an excellent one, and the place soon became the most important one on the south Atlantic coast.

These settlements mark the beginnings of North and South Carolina. The proprietors had no thought of establishing two

separate colonies, but Albemarle and Charleston were so far apart that it was found convenient to give them separate governments. In 1729 they were divided and became separate royal provinces under the complete control of the king.

New Jersey, 1664

Colonization began in Carolina and New Jersey at about the same time. Before the conquest of New Netherland by the English, some Dutchmen had wandered down into what is now New Jersey. The planting of colonies began, however, in a business-like way, in 1664. In that year the Duke of York, the brother of the king of England, gave a grant of land lying between the Delaware and the Hudson rivers to two of his personal friends. The planting of the colonies then began in the usual way.

EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN EAST AND WEST JERSEY

After a few years William Penn and other Quakers bought the western part of New Jersey. Here they set up a splendid government and granted religious freedom to all peaceable citizens. Three years later the Quakers and some others purchased East Jersey and the two parts were thus united under one head and both prospered. In 1702, after many quarrels, the proprietors, weary of discord, gave over their rights to the king, and New Jersey became a royal province.

Pennsylvania and Delaware, 1681–1682

Pennsylvania is one of the most interesting of the American colonies, largely because its history is connected with William Penn, one of the best men of his time. When a boy, Penn was sent to Oxford University, where he became famous as a scholar and athlete. He was a powerful oarsman and a master of many languages. He could read and speak Latin, Italian, French, German, and Dutch, and had a very good knowledge of Greek. In addition to this we know from his letters and other writings that he had a very good command of the English language. While at Oxford he was converted to the teachings of George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends or Quakers. This displeased his father very much. The older Penn, being an admiral in the king's navy and a fighter by profession, was disgusted when his son adopted a religion which forbade all fighting. Accordingly he was taken out of college and sent to Paris in the hope that he might forget his new religious ideas in the gayeties of the French capital. It did not turn out so, however, as Penn clung to his religious beliefs to the day of his death.

PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE

Land Grant, 1681. Penn, as we have seen, had made a success of colonization in New Jersey and he now wished to get more land in America for the same purpose. The king owed him a large sum of money, and not being able to pay his debts in cash, offered him a tract of land in the New World. Accordingly, in 1681, Penn obtained forty thousand square miles of territory. To this tract of land he gave the name "Sylvania,"

meaning the woodland. To this the king prefixed the name "Penn," thus forming the name "Pennsylvania." Penn objected to this new name and said that he was afraid that the people would think him vain if the land bore his name. To this the king replied: "Don't flatter yourself: we will keep the name to commemorate the admiral, your noble father."

WILLIAM PENN

William Penn was a very religious man and was arrested while preaching in the streets of London. He was charged with disturbing the peace and was imprisoned in the Tower. Here he wrote his principal work, "No Cross, No Crown."

Penn was now ready to enter upon what he called his "holy experiment." He advertised his plans widely and offered small tracts of land for sale at very low rates. He also promised self-government and religious freedom to all Christians who came under his control. Many accepted his offer, and, in the fall of the same year in which the grant was obtained, three ship-loads of people set out for Penn's forests under the command of his cousin, William Markham.

In the following year (1682) Penn came to America in person to look after the interests of his new undertaking. He was delighted with the beauty and repose of the woodland and exclaimed: "Oh, how sweet is the quiet of these parts!" The site for the capital had already been chosen and Penn proceeded to lay out its streets, in regular order, between the Delaware and the Schuylkill rivers. The place was named Philadelphia, or the city of brotherly love. The first streets of this now famous city were named after the various trees which grew in great abundance in places now covered with hard pavements.

Delaware. In this same year (1682) in order to have a better outlet to the sea, Penn obtained the land which is now known as Delaware. Pennsylvania was called the "province" and Delaware the "territories," but both were under the rule of Penn until 1703. In that year the proprietor set up the territories as a separate colony.

The Form of Government. Penn kept his word, as he always did, in regard to self-government and religious freedom. He set up a very liberal form of government, much like that which he had established in New Jersey. Good laws were also made soon after his arrival in the colony. These provided, among other things, for the care of the poor and the humane treatment of prisoners. Up to this time, not much thought had been given to the care of the poor; and prisoners were cast into foul dungeons and often treated in a most brutal way.

Dealings with the Indians. Penn was wonderfully successful in his dealings with the Indians. It has been said that he knew just what cords of the Indian's nature to touch. He certainly did have a good understanding of the feelings and character of the red man, and what is more important he was always fair and honest in his dealings with him. He never tried to cheat the Indian and always kept his promises. Neither did he drive him from his hunting-grounds or burn his wigwam as many other colonists had done. He told the Indians about the principles of his religion and asked them to live in peace and friendship with him and his people. He paid them for their lands, and they, in turn, promised to "live in love with William Penn and his children while grass grows and water runs."

The Shackamaxon treaty, made by Penn with the Indians in 1682, under the famous old elm which stood until the nineteenth century, is a splendid example of fair and honest dealing. On the spot where this treaty elm once stood a monument has been placed bearing the words, "Unbroken Faith." Truly, Penn's pledge to the red man was never broken, and never in Penn's lifetime was a Quaker killed by an Indian.

The colony was a success from the very start. It had no such trials and hardships as the Jamestown and Plymouth settlements were compelled to undergo. A writer whose book was published in England in 1698 speaks of the stately houses of Philadelphia and the extensive trade and commerce of the colony. "Of lawyers and physicians," says the writer, "I shall

PENN MAKING A TREATY WITH THE INDIANS

have nothing to say because the country is very peaceable and healthy. There are no beggars to be seen nor indeed have any here the least temptation to take up that scandalous lazy life." Things apparently went well in Penn's colony.

Georgia, 1733

Georgia was the last of the English colonies to be established on the coast of North America. It was a peculiar colony. Its founding was due not to commerce, trade, adventure, or religion,

but to charity. Its founder was James Edward Oglethorpe, one of the greatest and best men of his time. Oglethorpe had no thought of making money for himself, but held the land, as he said, "in trust for the poor." "Not for self, but for others," was the motto which he placed upon the seal of the colony.

Oglethorpe visited English jails and was greatly touched by the terrible punishments which were inflicted upon the unfortunate prisoners. The jails were filthy, foul, and unhealthful, and men were cast into them to serve long terms for very slight offenses. Men were imprisoned for debt in those days and Oglethorpe pitied especially these unfortunate debtors. He made up his mind to found a colony in America where the best of these men might go and begin life anew. He also thought that it would be a good idea to place his colony south of those already established, so that it might serve as a defense against the Spaniards in Florida.

The Land Grant and the Form of Government. Before Oglethorpe could carry out his plans it was necessary that a large sum of money be raised. The prisoners could not be taken out of jail until their debts were paid and it would cost a great deal to send the colonists to America and to get them well settled in their new homes. Oglethorpe gave a large part of the money himself and obtained the remainder from a number of wealthy charitable friends. He then got a grant of land from the king. This grant extended from the Savannah to the Altamaha River, and was named Georgia in honor of King George of England.

Savannah, 1733. In November, 1732, Oglethorpe set sail for America with thirty-five families and in the following February founded Savannah. This was the starting-point of the new colony. He did not take the land from the Indians by force, as many others had done, but made an agreement with them and treated them justly and fairly, after the manner of Roger Williams and William Penn.

It was soon seen that the unfortunate debtors were not good material for a colony. They had failed in England and most

of them did the same thing in America. So Oglethorpe began to look about for better colonists. Soon some German Protestants and Scotch highlanders came, and these strengthened the settlement. They also furnished an excellent example for the shiftless debtors.

The colony was only partly successful and in 1752 its charter was given back to the king, and Georgia, like many other colonies, became a royal province.

We have now studied the history of colonization in North America. We must next turn our attention to the growth of the colonies, and to the various forms of combination and union which sprang up among them.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. What was the relation of an English colony to the mother country?
2. What were the inducements which led Europeans to plant colonies in America?
3. What was the main object of the Jesuit priests in America?
4. Why is the Virginia House of Burgesses important?
5. What was the importance of the Cavaliers in Virginia?
6. Why was the Connecticut form of government important?
7. What is meant by religious toleration? To what extent did it prevail in the English colonies?
8. Why did Penn get along so well with the Indians?
9. Why was the Georgia colony a partial failure?
10. Take a map and locate as nearly as you can the site of the first permanent settlement in each of the thirteen English colonies.

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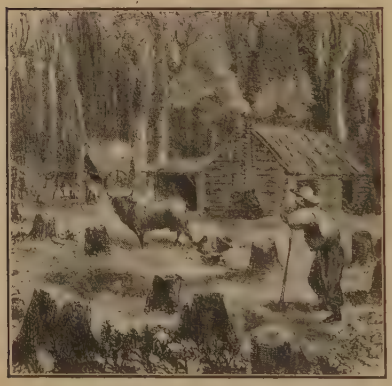
CHAPTER V

THE BEGINNINGS OF UNION AMONG THE ENGLISH COLONIES

The English, French, and Spanish were the leaders in the colonization of North America. Of these three nations, the English were the most successful, and for this reason the history of the English colonies will form an important part of our story.

It is usually said that the English colonies in America became united at the time of the American Revolution, in 1775. This is true in one sense, but it is also true that a sort of feeling of union had grown up among them many years before this date.



A Clearing in the Wilderness
About 1770.

For a long time after the founding of the colonies there was no bond of union among them. Their governments were not united, and there were no railways, steamboats, or telegraph lines to connect them. Newspapers had not yet been published and the mail system was slow and unsatisfactory. There were very few good wagon roads and almost no bridges, aside from trees which the pioneers had felled across the small streams. Settlers living in distant colonies could not come together and talk over matters of common interest. While this state of things continued there could be little union among the colonies.

HUDSON BAY COMPANY
James Bay
Albany R.
Big R.
Last Main R.
Ruperts R.
Harricanaw R.
Moose R.
Mistassini Lake
NEW FRANCE
Hamilton R.
Nodwin R.
NEWFOUNDLAND
Gulf of St. Lawrence
Saguenay R.
CAPE BRETON I.
Louisbourg
Sault Ste. Marie
L. Superior
Ottawa R.
L. Nipissing
Montreal
Quebec
R. St. Lawrence
ACADIE
St. John R.
Port Royal
Bay of Fundy
L. Illinois
Fort Frontenac
Lake Champlain
Boundary in dispute
L. Ontario
Pemaquid
Saco
Dover
C. Ann
Salem
Boston
C. Cod
C. Sable
Detroit
L. Erie
Maumee R.
Disputed region claimed by both French and English
Albany
Northfield
Springfield
Newport
New Haven
New York
Philadelphia
Baltimore
Annapolis
Washington
Potomac R.
Ohio R.
Disputed region claimed by the English
St. Mary's
James R.
Roanoke R.
Roanoke I.
Jamestown
Hampton
CAROLINA (North of Cape Fear)
C. Hatteras
CAROLINA (South of Cape Fear)
C. Fear
Charles Town
Santee R.
Savannah R.
Alatamaha R.
FLORIDA
St. Augustine
C. Canaveral
GULF OF MEXICO
BAHAMA IS.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BERMUDA IS.
ENGLISH COLONIES
1700.
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300
L.L. POATES, ENGR'G CO., N.Y.
85 80 75 70 65 60
35 30 25 45 40
Longitude 80 75 West from 70 Greenwich 65

In the course of a century, however, great changes took place. The colonies grew, means of communication were improved, and the English colonists especially began to see that they had many interests in common. They claimed the rights and privileges of Englishmen and in this idea itself there was a bond of union.

Early Spirit of Independence. The struggle between the colonists and the mother country really began a long time before the Revolution. Many of the colonists had come to America to be independent in matters of religion and government. Soon after landing they demanded and received a share in the government. The desire for self-government grew and several of the colonies — Connecticut and Rhode Island in particular — had succeeded in obtaining very liberal charters from the English kings. Under these charters the spirit of independence grew so rapidly that the English government became alarmed and made various attempts to hold the colonists in check. Charters were taken away and in many cases colonies were made royal provinces and placed under the direct control of the king.

These steps were not taken, however, without a stubborn resistance on the part of the colonists. They had shrewd agents in London who succeeded in protecting their rights in many instances. When it was proposed, for example, in 1715, to unite Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire into a single royal province under the control of the king, Jeremiah Dummer, colonial agent from Connecticut, made a vigorous protest. He insisted that the colonies should be allowed to remain, each under its own charter. He said that they had an "undoubted right" to these charters as they had been granted by the king for all time. He also said that they had not been forfeited through misbehavior, since the colonists were loyal to the mother country. In addition to this he expressed the opinion that the repeal of the charters would check the prosperity of the colonies, and, at the same time, injure the commerce of England. This argument was successful, and the English government stopped its attacks, for a time, upon the New England charters.

Quarrels with Governors. In addition to the quarrels with the king and Parliament, the colonists had many contests with the royal governors. These struggles furnished an excellent training for the more important ones which took place just before the Revolution. A few examples will serve to show the general nature of these contests.

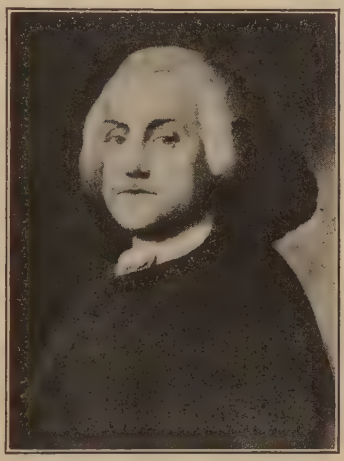
The laws governing the colonies were made by their legislatures and agreed to by the governors. In many of the colonies the governors were appointed either by the king or by the proprietors, while the members of the legislature were chosen by the people. In a case like this a quarrel was almost sure to arise. In several of the colonies, for example, the legislature and the governor could not agree upon the amount of the governor's salary. In Massachusetts a contest of this kind arose. The members of the legislature said that the colonists were Englishmen and that they had a right to raise money and to spend it as they saw fit. They said that they would not permit a royal governor — the mere tool of the king — to dictate to them in matters of this kind. As a result of these disagreements "deadlocks" often occurred and business was frequently brought to a full stop. "The history of the eighteenth century is a story of revolt in the name of liberty and independence."

The people of New York also had a serious quarrel with one of their governors — Lord Cornbury. Cornbury was a cousin of Queen Anne of England and thought apparently that he could do as he pleased. On one occasion the legislature of New York voted $12,000 for fortifications and the governor promptly stole the money and used it for his own private purposes. This, naturally enough, was not pleasing to the legislature, so the governor was removed from office and sent to jail to await the payment of his debts. In the meantime the members of the legislature said that they would not vote any more money for public purposes until they were sure that it would be expended by honest officials.

Another important quarrel was with Sir Edmund Andros.

Andros had been sent over to America by the king (James II) as governor of several of the northern colonies. The colonies objected to being united under the rule of a royal governor, and Andros had a hard time of it. The people of Boston threw him into prison and his deputy was driven out of New York.

Probably the most significant quarrel took place in Virginia. In 1676 the common people, under the leadership of Nathaniel Bacon, took up arms against Berkeley (page 55), the royal governor. This uprising, known in history as "Bacon's Rebellion," was a failure; yet it is important because it was a protest against unjust navigation laws, against the political power of the great planters, and particularly against the tyranny of the royal governor. Berkeley put down the rebellion with terrible vengeance, but he could not kill the spirit of independence among the people.



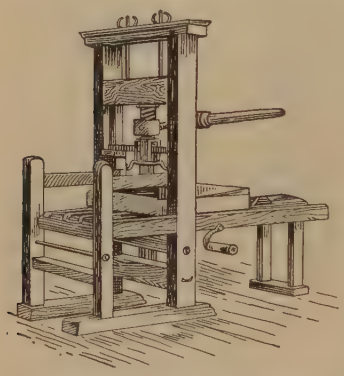
FRANKLIN AS A YOUNG MAN

Franklin was born in Boston, in 1706. He became a printer in early life. He came to Philadelphia a poor boy of seventeen, with only a "Dutch dollar" and a copper shilling to his name. From this humble condition he rose to a foremost place among his countrymen. He became a famous writer, statesman, and man of science. He had ability along many lines and was a very useful man. He organized the first fire company in Philadelphia, drilled troops for the Revolution, founded the first public library in America, invented the first lightning-rod, and the Franklin stove, and did many other things for the public good.

We should remember that during a large part of the seventeenth century the tyrannical Stuart kings were upon the English throne, and that with these kings and their royal governors the colonists were quarreling almost constantly. The same kind of quarrel was taking place in England. The people, under the leadership of Cromwell and others, were contending against the king for their rights and liberties just as strenuously as the colonists were. The people were finally successful in both countries.

On the whole it may be said that the people and the legislatures gained in power as a result of these contests with the royal governors. The governors were weak men in many cases, and as the legislatures insisted strongly upon their rights, as they saw them, they usually had their way.

In Rhode Island and Connecticut no such disputes took place. The charters of these colonies were exceedingly liberal and provided for the election of governors by a vote of the people. The people really had the government in their own hands, and there was no reason why they should quarrel with a governor of their own choosing.



FRANKLIN'S PRINTING PRESS

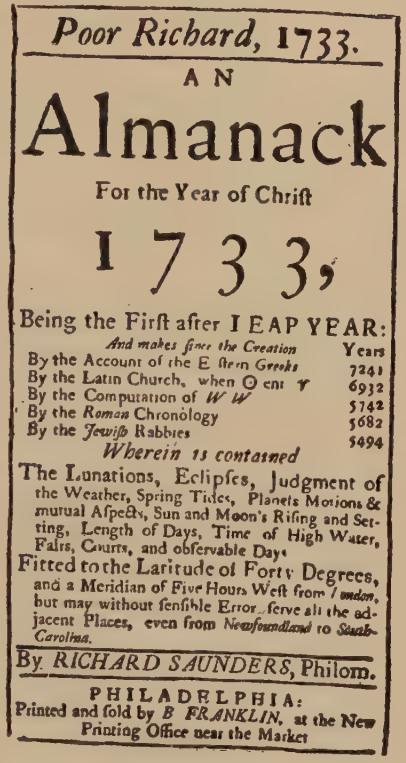
It was worked by hand, and we should think it a very poor exchange for the modern newspaper press which not only prints, but folds papers at a rate probably a thousand times faster than Franklin's press could do the printing alone.

Plans of Union. As the colonies grew, the distances between them became less. Roads and other means of communication were improved and the colonists understood each other better. They also saw that they had many interests in common. The king was taking away their charters and threatening their liberties, while the French on the north and west were looking at them with hostile eyes. The Indians also were sullen and sometimes warlike. In these circumstances they began to think of uniting for their common defense. Virginia became the natural leader of the South and Massachusetts of the North, while Pennsylvania and New York were prominent among the middle colonies.

Plans of union, or constitutions, were suggested from time to time. The New England Confederation of 1643 (page 70) was the first of these plans and served as a model for many which followed. Several other plans were drawn up from time to time

only to be cast aside. The sturdy and independent colonists were hard to please. They were jealous of their rights and privileges as Englishmen and did not want to allow a central or outside government to exercise any great authority over them. Each colony wanted to govern itself and to manage its own affairs in its own way.

Franklin's Plan. Finally it was seen that some kind of union was necessary. The king also wished the colonies to unite, as he saw that a war with the French and Indians was near at hand. So, in 1754, Benjamin Franklin, one of the leading men of Pennsylvania and perhaps the leading man in America at the time, drew up a sort of constitution or plan of union. It was a very simple plan and left most of the power in the hands of the various colonies. It provided for a central or general government which was to have charge of all matters of common interest such as wars, dealings with the Indians, and the sale of public lands. Each colony was to manage its private and local affairs as it had been doing and as the states of the American Union now do.



Poor Richard, 1733.

AN

Almanack

For the Year of Christ

1733,

Being the First after LEAP YEAR:

And makes since the Creation Years

By the Account of the E. from Greeks 7241
By the Latin Church, when O ent ♈ 6932
By the Computation of *W. W.* 5742
By the *Roman* Chronology 5682
By the *Jewish* Rabbies 5494

Wherein is contained

The Lunations, Eclipses, Judgment of the Weather, Spring Tides, Planets Motions & mutual Aspects, Sun and Moon's Rising and Setting, Length of Days, Time of High Water, Fairs, Courts, and observable Days.

Fitted to the Latitude of Forty Degrees, and a Meridian of Five Hours West from *London*, but may without sensible Error serve all the adjacent Places, even from *Newfoundland* to *South-Carolina*.

By *RICHARD SAUNDERS*, Philom.

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed and sold by *B. FRANKLIN*, at the New Printing Office near the Market

FRANKLIN'S POOR RICHARD'S ALMANAC

(*From the original*)

Poor Richard was a fictitious name assumed by Benjamin Franklin, and under it he published his almanac for twenty-five years, inculcating principles of honesty, sobriety, industry, and frugality, in quaint maxims and proverbs that made him famous for his wit and wisdom. He knew the causes of success in life. "It is hard for an empty sack to stand upright," he said, meaning that a boy should try to have some sense in his head and money in his pocket.

It was really a very good plan and should have been adopted, but it was not. It was submitted to a convention of the colonies held at Albany, was approved there, and then sent to the various colonies for adoption. Although a great war was about to begin and every one saw the need of a union of some kind, the plan was rejected both by the colonies and by the king. The colonies thought that it gave too much power to the king, and the king thought that it gave too much power to the colonies. It was impossible to please the king and the people at the same time. At a later time the plans of union came from the people with no thought of pleasing the king.

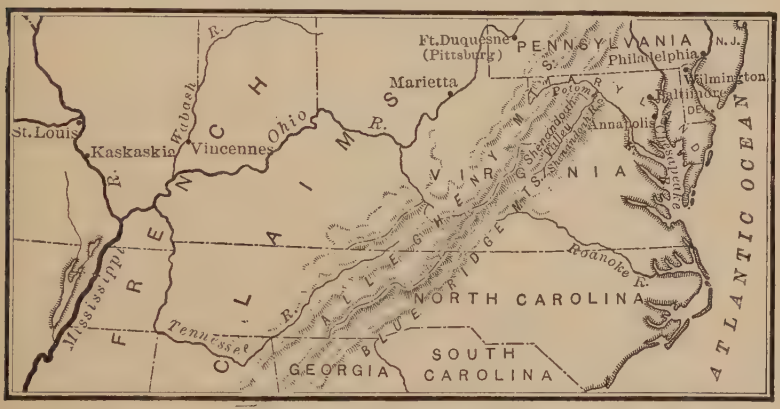
The Westward Movement. As the English colonies grew[1] they began to touch elbows with the French. It was plain that there was trouble ahead. It had been evident for a considerable time that France and England would come to blows over the possession of the New World. We must now see how the first clash came.

As long as the English remained on the Atlantic coast and the French along the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi, there was no danger of a conflict; but when the English began to move west across the Allegheny Mountains it was plain that war would result. This westward movement began in 1716. In that year Governor Spotswood of Virginia, with a party of men in hunters' costume, crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains and entered the Shenandoah Valley, since made famous in the Civil War. Up to this time this beautiful valley had been veiled in mystery, but soon after Governor Spotswood's expedition, many immigrants came to make homes and to take advantage of the great fertility of the country.

In 1748 another band of hunters and adventurers crossed the

[1] The total population of the English colonies in 1750 was about 1,370,000. Virginia was the largest colony, having about 300,000 people. Many of these, however, were negro slaves. Massachusetts was second in size and Pennsylvania third. Georgia, the youngest colony, was also the smallest and did not have more than 5,000 inhabitants in 1750.

ridge and laid claim to land in what is now Kentucky and Tennessee. In the following year the Ohio Company was formed for the purpose of making settlements in this promising western country. Many leading Virginians, including two brothers of George Washington, were members of this company. They obtained a grant of 500,000 acres of land from the king and the settlers' log cabins sprang up in various places.



THE BEGINNINGS OF THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT

This "Westward Movement" was a very important event in the early history of America. It opened the way for the settlement of that immense area west of the Allegheny Mountains, and it also brought the English into contact with the French who had possession of the interior. Now that the English had crossed the mountains, a conflict between the two nations was a certainty. This conflict broke out in 1754 and resulted in establishing the supremacy of the English in North America. We shall see in the following chapter how this came about.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Do you know of any reason why the English should have been more successful than the French or Spanish in founding colonies?

2. Find out something more about the Stuart kings. How did the attitude of the Stuart kings toward the English people compare with that of the royal governors toward the colonists?
3. Trace the course of the "Westward Movement" on the map. Locate the Shenandoah Valley.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

1. Fiske, "Beginnings of New England," 140–198 (N. E. Confederation).
2. Morse, "Benjamin Franklin," 16–57.
3. Franklin, "Autobiography."

NORTH AMERICA
1750
Spanish
English
French
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400 600 800
L.L.POATES, ENGR'G CO., N.Y.
ARCTIC CIRCLE
TROPIC OF CANCER
EQUATOR
HUDSON BAY
HUDSONS BAY COMPANY
NEW FRANCE
NEWFOUNDLAND
LAKE ERIE
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE CHAMPLAIN
LAKE WINNIPEG
LAKE SUPERIOR
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE HURON
ENGLISH COLONIES
LOUISIANA
NEW SPAIN
Montreal
Quebec
Boston
New York
Detroit
Mississippi R.
Missouri R.
Colorado R.
Rio Grande
New Orleans
GULF OF MEXICO
Havana
BAHAMA IS.
HAITI
SANTO DOMINGO
PORTO RICO
JAMAICA
BELIZE
Mexico
CARIBBEAN SEA
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ARCTIC OCEAN
SOUTH AMERICA
120 Longitude West 100 from Greenwich 80

CHAPTER VI

FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN FIGHT FOR THE NEW WORLD, 1754–1763

THE French and English in America had for a long time looked upon each other with jealous and hostile eyes.[1] Both were eager for territory and it was plain that the English would not allow the French to shut them out of the fertile valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi. The clash came in the valley of the Ohio. Both the French and the English had entered this territory and both were anxious to retain it.

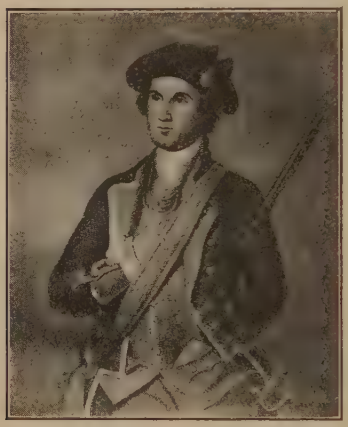
Claims of the French and English. The English had actual possession of the Atlantic coast from Nova Scotia to Florida, while the French claims extended from the Alleghenies on the east to the Rockies on the west and from Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south. It should be remembered also that the English claimed the continent of North America on account of the discovery of John Cabot, and also that some of their charters gave them possession of the land "from sea to sea."

In order to hold this vast territory the French were not depending upon their leaden plates alone (page 47). In 1752 they began to string a line of forts from Lake Erie to the Ohio River, in order to fence off the English from the west. A rude log fort was built where the city of Erie now stands. Forts were

[1] There had been three wars in America between the French and the English, before the final struggle. The first of these is known as King William's War (1689–1697). The second is known as Queen Anne's War (1702–1713) and the third as King George's War (1744–1748). These wars did not decide anything and are not particularly important, except as they paved the way for the great struggle which every one saw was sure to come.

also established in western Pennsylvania on the present sites of Waterford and Franklin.

Governor Dinwiddie Warns the French. The building of these forts aroused Robert Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia. Dinwiddie was interested in the matter for two reasons. In the first place the Virginians claimed the Ohio Valley because their charter of 1609 gave them all the land "from sea to sea, west and northwest." In the second place Dinwiddie was a member of the Ohio Company which had recently obtained a grant of 500,000 acres in this valley.



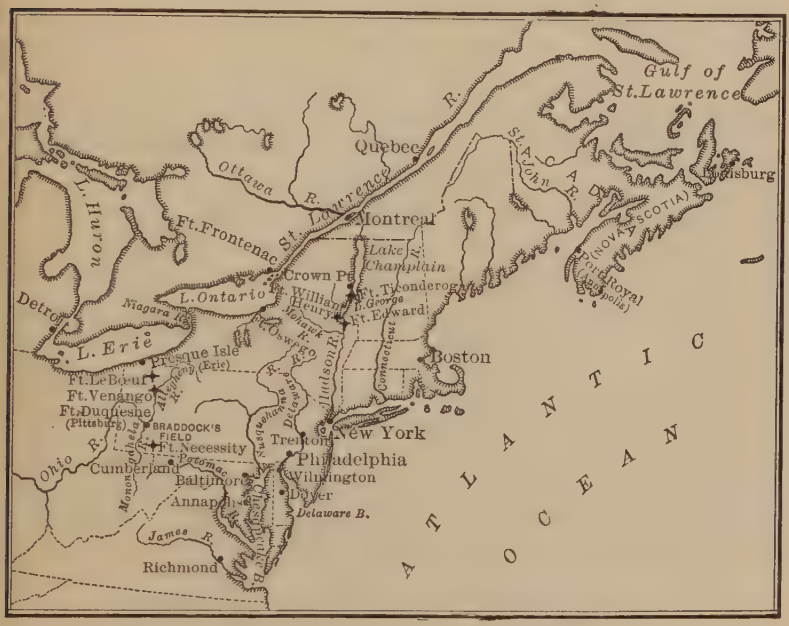
GEORGE WASHINGTON AS A YOUNG MAN

Washington, when only twenty-two years of age, was at the head of the Virginia troops in the old French War.

George Washington. Governor Dinwiddie determined to send a messenger to the French to warn them to keep off English territory. He looked about for the best man to carry this message to the French commander through hundreds of miles of unbroken forests. He chose George Washington, who later became the foremost man in American history.

Washington's Perilous Journey. On the very day upon which he received his instructions he set out upon his difficult and dangerous journey. For weeks he pushed on with his little band of four white hunters and two Indian guides, over mountains, through forests, and across rivers filled with floating ice. Washington finally found St. Pierre, the commander of the French, at Fort Le Boeuf and there delivered to him the letter of Governor Dinwiddie. After receiving the reply, he set out for home. The winter was now on and he soon found that he could go no farther on horseback. Consequently he and a companion set out on foot

for Virginia. They suffered terrible hardships. When crossing the swift Monongahela on a rude, shaky raft, their lives were in great danger, and on another occasion they barely escaped death at the hands of hostile Indians. Washington finally arrived at Williamsburg, Virginia, in mid-winter, 1754, after an absence of nearly three months and a journey of seven hundred and fifty



THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

miles. This was Washington's first public service, but it was by no means his last.

The reply which Washington brought back to Governor Dinwiddie was an unsatisfactory one, as had been expected. The French paid no attention to the warnings and demands of the English. They had no thought of turning their backs upon the fertile valley of the Ohio. On the contrary, they pushed on to the south to the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, drove out the English from the place, and built a fort

where the city of Pittsburg now stands. It was seen by both the French and the English that this point was the key to the Ohio Valley and also "the gateway of the West." This fort, named Duquesne in honor of the governor of Canada, was built in the spring of 1754, only a few weeks after the return of Washington from his famous journey. The great fight was on, although war was not really declared until 1756.

Washington's Expedition. When Governor Dinwiddie read the reply of the French commander, it was plain to him that the time had come to put an army in the field. Preparations were hastily made. The legislature of Virginia voted money for the support of the troops and in the early spring a small company of seventy-five men set out for the head waters of the Ohio. George Washington was in command. While on his way, information came to him that the English had been driven out and that the French were building a fort on the present site of Pittsburg. This piece of news caused him to change his plans. Instead of pushing on to Fort Duquesne, as he had intended, he built a rude breastwork in southwestern Pennsylvania, which he appropriately named Fort Necessity. While he was thus engaged the French appeared in the neighborhood. Washington, taking the enemy by surprise, was the first to strike. The fight was soon over and Washington had won. Only one Frenchman escaped.

After the skirmish was over, Washington again took up the work on Fort Necessity. On the 3d of July another band of Frenchmen came along and demanded the surrender of the fort. Washington refused and the fight began. It continued all day. At night the English were hungry and tired; their ammunition was gone; and their guns were made useless in many cases by the rain. They were also outnumbered by about four to one. They surrendered, but were allowed to march away with their arms. This ended Washington's first campaign, and is the first and only time that he ever surrendered to an enemy.

Plans of the Campaign. The English now began in real earnest to map out their campaigns against New France. It

was no easy task. The French were surrounded by dense forests through which it was difficult for an army to hew its way. Nature had left three great openings, however, and the English planned to make use of them. They determined to send one army into New France by way of Lake George, Lake Champlain, and the St. Lawrence River; another was to go up the Hudson and Mohawk rivers and pass along the southern shore of Lake Ontario, then across the Niagara River into Canada. The third

THE FALL OF BRADDOCK IN THE WILDERNESS

army was to go up the Potomac River and then cut its way across the country to Fort Duquesne.

Braddock's Defeat, 1755. In the spring of 1755 General Edward Braddock set out upon this third route. Braddock had come over from England to be commander-in-chief of the forces in America. He was an able man and a brave soldier, but he knew almost nothing of forest fighting and Indian warfare. His military tactics, which had been so successful on European battlefields, failed utterly in the wilderness of the New World.

After a tiresome march of twenty-seven days Braddock

reached Fort Cumberland in western Maryland in May. After drilling the colonial troops at this place for a time he set out on his march of one hundred and thirty miles through primeval forests to Fort Duquesne. The journey was exceedingly difficult and painfully slow, the army making on an average only a little more than three miles a day. Much time was spent in chopping down trees, making bridges, and constructing roads over quagmires for the passage of the troops. Braddock led the army over a very difficult course, taking almost no advantage of the natural waterways. Washington, who knew the country well, was a member of the company, but the confident and headstrong commander rarely asked his advice in regard to the best route to take.

The Massacre. Braddock pushed on by main strength and on the 9th of July he reached a point on the Monongahela River about eight or ten miles from the fort which he intended to attack. On this spot, still called Braddock's Field, there occurred one of the most pitiable massacres in all our colonial history.

While Braddock was cutting his way through the forests, there was dismay within the walls of Fort Duquesne. The French commander had made up his mind that he could not hold out against Braddock's army, and was about ready to abandon the fort. In this desperate situation a reckless adventurer, Beaujeu by name, proposed that a trap be set for the English in a ravine through which their course would lead them. This was done. The rest is soon told. Without any warning whatever, the attack came. The French and Indians, hiding behind trees, rocks, and hilltops, poured a deadly fire into the ranks of the English as they marched along in regular order. Braddock had forbidden his men to break ranks and to seek the shelter of the trees as the French and Indians were doing. Consequently there was little for them to do but to furnish a mark for the enemy to shoot at. "We would fight," they said, "if we could see anybody to fight with." Failing to find their opponents, they broke ranks and fled, and the battle was lost.

Both the regulars and the colonial troops displayed the highest bravery. Two horses were shot under Washington and four bullets pierced his coat. Braddock, too, fought well, if not wisely. He lost five horses in battle, was wounded himself, died two days later, and was buried close by. Washington placed him in his forest grave and read over his silent form the burial service of the Church of England.

War Declared, 1756. All of this fighting was done without a declaration of war; but on May 18, 1756, the English formally declared war against France. This war was fought on both sides of the Atlantic, and is known as the "Seven Years' War" in Europe, and the "French and Indian War" in America.

1756. After this declaration of war, strange to say, no very decided movements were made by the English. The French, on the other hand, strengthened their forts, drilled their men, and prepared themselves for the contest which was coming on. Their leader, the alert Montcalm, captured Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario and then withdrew in safety to the walls of Fort Ticonderoga, near the southern extremity of Lake Champlain.

1757. Hostilities practically ceased during the severe Canadian winter, but early in the following spring Montcalm was again active. He drilled not only his own men, but some of the neighboring Indians as well. Montcalm was always a welcome visitor at the wigwam. He sang the war songs and attended the war feasts of the Indians and enlisted many of them under the banner of France. About the middle of the summer he had gathered at Ticonderoga a formidable force of six thousand French and Canadians and two thousand Indians.

On the first of August Montcalm bore down upon the English at Fort William Henry at the southern extremity of Lake George. The fort was taken after a fierce fight of five days, and many of the prisoners were cruelly massacred by the Indians, against the protests of Montcalm.

New English Commanders Appointed. The English had made a poor start in the war, largely because they were poorly

commanded. A great change now took place. William Pitt, probably the greatest statesman that England has ever produced, became prime minister. The prime minister was at that time the most powerful official in England, and Pitt made good use of his great power. The most important thing that he did was to send new commanders to America. He appointed four splendid men — Amherst, Forbes, Howe, and Wolfe; and Wolfe was the

Washington Raising the British Flag at Fort Duquesne

greatest of them all, — a man who had won honor on many battle-fields, although now but thirty years of age. Things looked brighter for the English.

1758. **The Fall of Louisburg.** There was new life in the English army in the following spring. In June ten thousand men under the command of Amherst and Wolfe sailed up to Louisburg and demanded its surrender. The reply was a galling fire, but the gallant Wolfe, wading in the shallow water, led his men in a terrific attack upon the fortifications. The place was taken and about six thousand prisoners were sent to England.

Fort Duquesne Taken. In November, George Washington set out to capture Fort Duquesne. When he reached the place he found nothing but smoking ruins, as the French had set fire to the fort and had departed the day before the arrival of the English. Washington and his men hoisted the British flag and a day of thanksgiving was observed. A small body of men was left to hold the place, and its name was changed to Pittsburg, in honor of England's greatest statesman.

Quebec Falls, 1759. The English were fast pushing on to the crowning glory at Quebec. Pitt mapped out the campaign for the year with great skill, but Wolfe stands out most prominently in the operations of 1759. It was he who took Quebec and practically ended the war. The story is a thrilling one. Wolfe

WOLFE'S MEN ON THEIR WAY TO THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM

While in one of the boats Wolfe repeated solemnly the following verse from Gray's "Elegy":

> "The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
> And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
> Await alike th' inevitable hour:
> The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

A midshipman who was present reported that Wolfe remarked that he would rather have written this poem than take Quebec on the morrow.

was frail of body, but wonderfully alert of mind. It was his greatest wish, he said, to be without pain for a few days and able to do his duty. His task was a difficult one. Quebec was the strongest fortified place on the American continent, and was defended, moreover, by the gallant Montcalm, at the head of a fine body of men. It was located on a high eminence, far above the river, and was thus very difficult to reach. But the shrewd and dashing Wolfe determined to lead his men under cover of the darkness up a steep, winding, narrow path to the plains above.

At two o'clock in the morning the signal was given for the army to move. The men crept noiselessly up the steep bank of the river, being compelled to drop on their hands and knees where the hill was almost perpendicular. They reached the top, and at dawn on the 13th of September, Wolfe, with five thousand men, was in possession of the now historic Plains of Abraham. Montcalm was completely surprised at the sight of the English army and saw at once that he must either fight or surrender. He was not the kind of man to surrender, unless compelled to do so; hence he gave battle. In the fierce conflict which followed, the gallant Wolfe was wounded twice, and a third time fatally. He was carried to the rear, refused surgical assistance, and died giving his commands to the army.

Monument to Wolfe and Montcalm in the Governor's Garden, Quebec

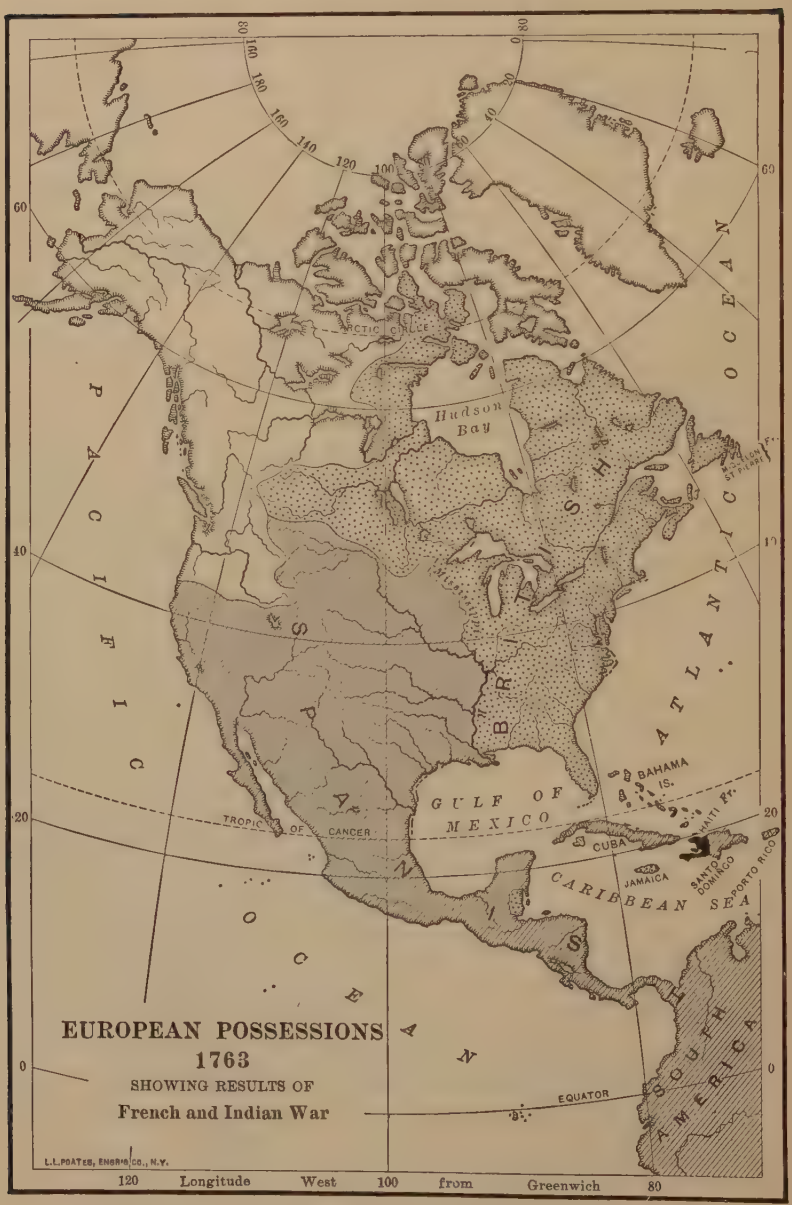
Montcalm also fell fighting bravely. He was wounded, but did not withdraw, and while rallying his troops was struck by the

fatal bullet. He died on the day after the battle and was buried in a convent chapel in the city which he defended so well. It is said that his grave was made for the most part by the bursting of a shell during the bombardment. In the governor's garden at Quebec there is a fitting memorial to the two men. A monument bears the name of WOLFE on one side and that of MONTCALM on the other, with the inscription: "Valor gave a united death, history a united fame, posterity a united monument." Wolfe won the day; Quebec fell on the 18th of September, and the fate of the French was practically sealed.

On the 8th of September of the following year Montreal fell. New France was no more, and the English were supreme on the continent of North America.

The Treaty of Peace, 1763. The war went on in Europe for three years longer, and the treaty of peace was not made until 1763. By this treaty France surrendered to Great Britain all of her possessions on the continent east of the Mississippi River, except New Orleans. All of Canada and the eastern half of the great Mississippi Valley thus fell into the hands of the British. France was permitted to retain only the West Indies and two small islands in the Gulf of St.. Lawrence, for fishing purposes. Spain, which had been induced to come into the war to assist France, surrendered Florida to England and received Louisiana from France in return. The treaty which was signed at Paris on the 10th of February marks an important epoch in the history of the American colonies. It marks the close of the struggle between France and Great Britain, which had been going on for three fourths of a century, for the possession of North America.

The war also taught the English colonists a great deal about military tactics and the planning of military campaigns. It showed them their strength, made them self-reliant, and prepared them for the war with the mother country, which was soon to follow.


EUROPEAN POSSESSIONS
1763
SHOWING RESULTS OF
French and Indian War
Hudson Bay
ARCTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SPANISH
BRITISH
GULF OF MEXICO
CARIBBEAN SEA
BAHAMA IS.
CUBA
JAMAICA
HAITI Fr.
SANTO DOMINGO
PORTO RICO
TROPIC OF CANCER
EQUATOR
SOUTH AMERICA
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QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. What were the reasons for the enmity between the French and the English?
2. Upon what did the English base their claims to American territory?
3. What was the basis of the French claims?
4. Which of these claims do you consider the stronger? Why?
5. Why was it difficult to plan and carry out a military campaign against New France?
6. Find out something more about Washington, Pitt, Wolfe, and Montcalm.
7. Draw a map and locate the points of interest in the French and Indian War. Indicate Braddock's journey.
8. Did the French leave Canada when New France fell into the hands of the English? How does Quebec differ from one of the large cities of the United States?
9. What part had the Indians played in keeping the French from the Ohio Valley? Trace various water routes by which the French could have reached the Mississippi River. How do you account for the fact that they had to take the long route?

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

1. Edward Everett Hale, "The Story of Massachusetts," 186–205 (French and Indian Wars); 206–237 (Louisburg).
2. G. C. Eggleston, "Our First Century," 160–170 (French Explorers).
3. Higginson, "Young Folks' Book of American Explorers," 269–278 (Champlain).
4. Thwaites, "Colonies," 252–255 (French Wars).

CHAPTER VII

COLONIAL GOVERNMENT AND COLONIAL LIFE

As soon as the treaty of peace was made in 1763, the spirit of independence in the English colonies began to grow rapidly. This brought about a separation of the colonies from the mother country. Before tracing the events which led up to this separation, however, it will be well for us to pause a moment and get a general view of colonial government and colonial life. In this way we shall get a better understanding of affairs in the English colonies just before the Revolution.

Colonial Government. The government of the colonies was modeled, in a general way, after the government of England. In England the governmental power was placed in the hands of the king and a legislative or law-making body, called Parliament, composed of two houses or branches — the House of Commons, and the House of Lords. Laws were passed by the two houses and approved by the king. Sometimes the king refused to agree to measures passed by Parliament. Such measures were then said to be "vetoed" or "forbidden," and could not be put in force. In colonial times the king of England had vastly more power than he has to-day.

The House of Lords, sometimes called the "upper house," is made up of noblemen and certain clergymen, Archbishops and Bishops, of the Established Church. Most of these men hold their seats in the House for life.

The House of Commons, sometimes called the "lower house," is made up of men chosen by the people to represent them. They are elected to serve, not for life, but for a term of years. A new election must be held once in seven years and may be held oftener.

When the English colonists came to America they naturally brought their forms of government with them. In other words, they set up *little English governments* along the Atlantic coast.

The Kinds of Colonies. We have already seen that there were three different kinds or classes of English colonies in America. The *charter colonies* were governed in accordance with the provisions of charters granted by the king; the *proprietary colonies* were under the control of the proprietor; and the *royal colonies* were under the direct control of the king. In the charter colonies the people usually had a considerable part in the government, but in the proprietary and royal colonies they had only as much self-government as the proprietor or king saw fit to give them. Charter and proprietary colonies were in several instances turned into royal colonies or royal provinces.

Although there were three kinds of colonies, the form of government was much the same in all. At the head of the colony was the governor. He was the chief executive officer, and it was his duty to see that the laws were enforced. He corresponded to the king in the English government, and in some of the colonies was looked upon as the king's representative. Sometimes the governor was appointed by the king, sometimes by the proprietor, and sometimes chosen by vote of the people.

The colonial legislature, corresponding to the English Parliament, was at first composed of one house, but later generally of two. The upper house was made up of a small body of men, sometimes appointed by the king or governor, and sometimes elected by the people. They were frequently looked upon as the special advisers of the governor. The lower house was generally made up of representatives elected by the people. The governor and the two houses made laws for the colony, subject to the approval of the authorities in England.

Local Government. In addition to the general or central government for the entire colony, there were local forms of government for counties and towns. The main object of local government everywhere is to allow the people of a neighborhood to

manage their local affairs in their own way. It is right and proper that the people of a locality should have direct charge of their schools, roads, bridges, and other local matters. Law makers sitting at a distant capital would not be able to manage these affairs as well as the people of the neighborhood. A member of Congress from New York, for example, could know little of the needs of a county in Texas.

Three Forms of Local Government. The forms of local government were also brought over from England. There were three systems or kinds of local government in the English colonies, each of which should be described separately.

(1) **Township System.** The township system was found in the New England colonies. The early Puritans built their houses in clusters or groups around the church, or "meeting house." This arrangement was convenient for the worship of God, and also for defense against the Indians. These settlements came to be called towns, or townships, and each managed its own local affairs.

The Town Meeting. At least once in each year the male citizens twenty-one years old or over met to transact the business of the township. There was a full and free debate upon all matters which came up. Laws were passed for the township, and provision was made for schools, roads, taxes, the poor, and a large number of other local matters. At the annual meeting officers for the coming year were chosen. The "selectmen" were the chief executive officers. It was their duty to enforce the laws and to call the town meeting. In addition to the selectmen, a clerk, a treasurer, and a whole host of other officers were chosen, including constables, overseers of the poor, pound keepers, and fence-viewers. These fence-viewers decided disputes which arose over line fences.

Counties were also established in New England, but the township was the more important form of local government.

(2) **County System.** The county system was found in the southern colonies. In the South the people lived on vast estates

or plantations, and were spread out over large areas instead of being huddled together around a meeting-house, as in New England. Towns and villages were slow to spring up. For this reason the county — a large unit of local government — was established in Virginia and other parts of the South. The county was to the South what the township was to New England. Local affairs were managed by county officers. It should be said, however, that under the county system the people did not have the direct control of their affairs that they had under the township system. There were no town meetings in the South, and county officers were appointed by the governor and not elected by the people.

(3) **The Mixed or Township-County System** was found in the middle colonies. New York, for example, had both kinds of local government — the township and the county forms — but the township was not so strong as in New England, nor the county so important as in the South. Local government was divided between the township and the county, with the county somewhat more important.

Our present forms of local government in the United States are derived from these three systems. As the people moved west they naturally brought with them the forms of local government with which they were familiar in the East, and set up these forms in their new homes.

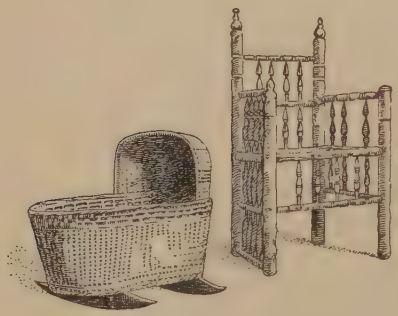
Colonial Life

Life in the colonies was a very simple one — a life without many of the conveniences and most of the luxuries which we enjoy to-day.

Houses. The first homes of some of the colonists were rude sheds made of bark, bushes, dirt, and sod. Then log cabins were built, with no floors except the earth. At a later time floors of hewn or sawed boards were made and the houses became much more comfortable. Windows were made of cloth or oiled

paper. Chimneys for the large fireplaces were made of poles covered with a mortarlike mud.

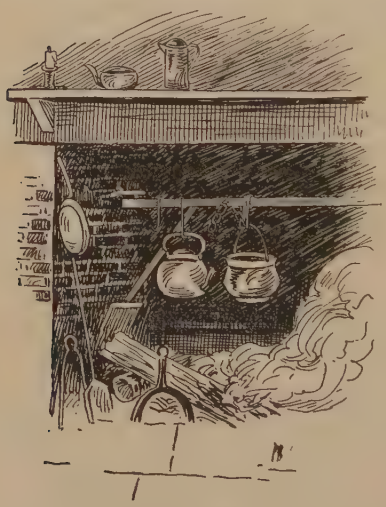
At a later time, when the colonists became richer, the famous



Colonial Chair and Cradle

Sawing Lumber in Colonial Times

old colonial mansion, with its large rooms and rich furniture, appeared in Virginia, New York, and elsewhere. Some of these were built of brick, and are still standing. Most of the colonial houses, however, were made of wood, because there was splendid building timber on every hand, and brick was very expensive. Saw-mills of a rude kind were set up in America before they were in England.



Colonial Fireplace

Heating. The houses were heated in a very simple way. There were no stoves or furnaces in the early colonial days, and the huge fireplace was used for heating and cooking. The large bright fires also lighted the room and in many instances made candles and lamps unnecessary. The part of the room near

the fire was often burning hot, while a short distance away the biting wind rushed in through openings in the walls. In New England, the ink often froze in the quill pen of a writer, only a few feet away from the fire.

Carrying Coals of Fire from a Neighbor's House

The first stove ever used in America was invented by Benjamin Franklin. This was a great improvement over the fireplace, and was soon quite generally used. Franklin, however, refused to have it patented, as he wished every one to have the free benefit of its use.

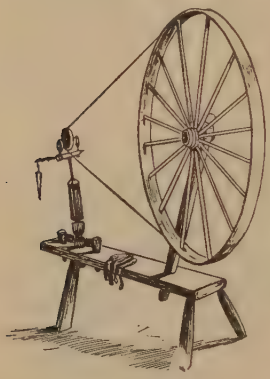
An Early Huguenot Gentleman

The Huguenots were French Protestants who came to America in quite large numbers. Some of them who had been persecuted in their native land on account of their religion founded colonies in what is now South Carolina and Florida. These colonies did not long survive.

There were no matches in colonial days, and the fire was banked up in the ashes to keep it over night. When it went out, the colonist was compelled to go to a neighbor's house to get a few coals. This was not a pleasant journey on a cold, frosty morning, especially when the nearest house was several miles away. Candles were in general use for lighting, and each family had its own candle-mold and made its own supply. Some of the wealthier colonists had lamps in which they burned whale oil, or melted lard. Kerosene oil was entirely unknown. In many instances, in the remote parts of the colonies, the pine knot and the fireplace were the sole means of lighting.

Dress. The dress of the colonist, as a rule, was plain and simple. Many of the people wore garments of linen, or woolen cloth made at home. This was the famous homespun of which we have heard so much. In the more remote parts, and especially

in the early days of the colonies, the men wore trousers and jackets of deerskin.



SPINNING WHEEL

At a later time, the wealthy planters and merchants wore gorgeous suits of rich broadcloth, velvet, or silk, adorned with brass buttons, gold embroidery, and fine lace. Powder, wigs, gold chains, and silver buckles were added to complete the dress of the colonial gentleman.

The men and women were apparently equally vain. There were no fashion plates, but the city dressmakers brought dolls over from England, dressed in the latest style, and women came from all parts of the colonies to study and to admire these models.

Cities. The colonist, as a rule, lived in the country. There were very few cities of any considerable size. Philadephia was the largest. Boston and New York were the leading cities in wealth and commerce; Baltimore was important commercially and socially; and Charleston was the most important city of the South. These places had no pavements, sewers, waterworks systems, or lighting plants worthy of the name.

TRAVELING ON HORSEBACK ABOUT 1660

Transportation. When the early colonist wanted to make a journey, he either walked, rode on horseback, or paddled in a rude boat. There were very few good roads and almost no

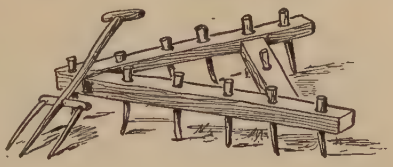
wagons or carriages. When the colonist, in his rude carriage, came to a stream, he was obliged to take his vehicle apart and carry it across in a boat, while the horse swam, or waded behind. At a later time, when roads were better and bridges more plentiful, the planter's carriage and the stage-coach were much used.

A Colonial Mail Carrier

Although the facilities for travel were very poor, the people were constantly migrating from place to place. They were pushing farther and farther west, in search of new homes. Some of them seemed to take a delight in getting away as far as possible from their fellowmen. It is said that Daniel Boone, one of the early pioneers, moved away because a man had built a hut as near as twelve miles from his own. The population, apparently, was becoming too dense in that locality to suit this restless and daring pioneer.

A Colonial Wheel Plow of about 1748
The plow was very crude, clumsy and heavy. An early traveler remarked that it would require all of the strength of one horse to draw the plow over the surface of a smooth field.

Pursuits. Agriculture was the principal occupation, and most of the colonists depended upon the farm for a living. In Virginia, tobacco was the leading crop, while large quantities of rice were raised in the swamps of South Carolina. Indigo also became an important crop in some parts of the South. Lumbering and fisheries also gave employment to many. Cotton was raised, but was not a great success until the invention of the cotton-gin.



Colonial Harrow and Fork made Entirely of Wood

Farming was, of course, carried on in a very crude and primitive way. Trees were girdled, Indian fashion, and crops were planted among the dead trunks. At a later time the trees were cut down, chopped up and rolled into piles to be burned, in order to get them out of the way. The agricultural implements were of the simplest and rudest kind.

A Colonial Ship Yard

The colonists had splendid materials for ship building and made good use of them. They found their oak and fir almost at the water's edge and pitch pine from which tar and turpentine were made abounded everywhere.

Manufacturing. England tried to prevent manufacturing in the colonies. She wanted the colonist to sell his agricultural products to her, and buy her manufactured goods in return. This would have been a very profitable arrangement for the English merchant and manufacturer, but not for the colonist, and he would not have it so. He made his own cloth, shoes, clothing, nails, ships, implements, and machines, and thus became independent of the mother country.

Commerce. A vigorous commerce sprang up in colonial days. The early colonist built ships and sent his tobacco, rice, indigo, wheat, corn, lumber, furs, fish, tar, pitch, and turpentine to all quarters of the globe. Commerce was a profitable business,

but at times a dangerous one as well. It should be remembered that, at this time, piracy upon the seas was quite common. These were the days of Captain Kidd, Blackbeard, and other pirates who terrorized the sailors upon the ocean.

Slavery. Slavery existed in all of the English colonies, but was much more profitable and widespread in the South than in the North. The slave could not be used with profit on the small farms or in the manufacturing establishments of New England, and so slavery was gradually dying out in that locality. In the South, on the other hand, slave labor was exceedingly profitable. The slave could be used to good advantage on the large southern plantations, and was particularly profitable in the tobacco fields of Virginia and the rice swamps of South Carolina. In the middle colonies, slaves were not as numerous as in the South. In Pennsylvania the Quakers were opposed to slavery, because they thought it was not right that one man should be the slave of another. In South Carolina, there were more slaves than free persons, and ship-loads of them were constantly coming from the wilds of Africa. In the rice swamps, the life of a slave was very short, and new supplies were necessary. Many of these slaves were savages, fresh from the jungles of Africa, and in some places the people lived in constant dread of slave rebellions.

Health. We usually think of the pioneer as a sturdy man of robust health and great endurance. Many of the early colonists were men of good health and great physical strength. On the whole, however, health conditions in the colonies were not good. Men of that time knew comparatively little of the laws of health and cleanliness, and we sometimes wonder that they got along as well as they did.

In the first place, the country was not cleaned up and drained as it is now. Fever and ague and other kinds of malaria lurked in the foul swamps. Frequent mention is made in colonial records of yellow fever, ship fever, break-bone fever, and smallpox. The physicians of the time were woefully ignorant. Vaccination

had not been discovered, and smallpox carried off large numbers of the colonists every year.

The cities were dirty and unhealthful. There were no pavements in any colonial city, aside from a small area of cobblestone which Franklin had succeeded in having laid in Philadelphia. The streets were dirty and the roads sometimes knee-deep in mud and almost always reeking with filth. There were no sewers, and garbage, ashes, decaying meats and vegetables, and other rubbish were dumped from year to year in the streets, alleys, and vacant lots. The Dutch in New York, it should be said, were somewhat better in this respect than their neighbors, but they kept their streets neat from motives of cleanliness rather than of health.

Philadelphia had a water supply brought in wooden pipes from outside the city, but no place had a water-works system similar to those in use to-day. The water supply came from wells which were often foul and unhealthful. Ice was never stored for summer use and food often became unwholesome.

Our colonial forefathers did not know the value of pure fresh air. The houses, and particularly the sleeping-rooms, were never properly ventilated. In many cases, the houses were so loosely built that there was too much ventilation, but, as a rule, the colonist shut himself in, especially at night. All the windows and doors were closed to shut out the "bad night air." The colonist did not know that "night air" was as pure and as necessary to health as "day air."

Medical Education. Medical education, in comparison with that of our own day, was very slight and poor. Sometimes a young man rode about the country with a practicing physician for a few months, and then set up in business for himself. The physicians knew almost nothing of the cause of disease, and many of them put great faith in charms.

Religion. The influence of the church in colonial times was very great. The Congregational Church was strong in New England, and the English Church in the South. In Maryland

the Church of England was established by law and supported by the government. All of the people, whether members of this church or not, were obliged to pay taxes for its support. In Virginia and the Carolinas, the arrangement was much the same. The Congregational Church bore about the same relation to New England that the Church of England did to the South.

In New England, the people were compelled to attend church services, and pews were allotted to them according to their social

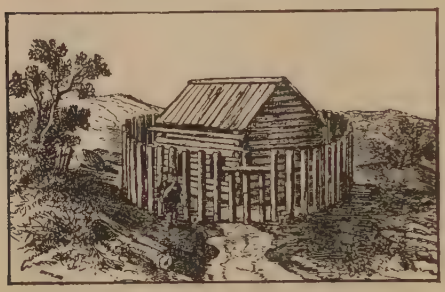
PILGRIMS ON THEIR WAY TO CHURCH

The Pilgrims were very regular in their church attendance and often carried guns for defense against the Indians.

standing. The poor man, without influence in the community, was compelled "to take a back seat." They usually listened to two or three long, dry, and learned sermons on each Sunday, often with the temperature at zero, and the churches unheated.

The Sabbath was rigidly observed. Work on that day was forbidden by law. Enough wood was chopped and cooking done on Saturday to last until the following Monday. The boys and girls had a school holiday on Saturday in order that they might assist in the preparations for the Sabbath. This was the origin of the custom which still prevails in our schools and colleges. In Massachusetts, the law forbade people from walking upon the

streets or along the ocean beach on Sunday, except while going to or returning from church. In spite of these rigid laws, the moral tone of the colonies was not very high. Drinking was almost universal, and there was much drunkenness and fist fighting in colonial taverns, especially on election days.



Colonial Meeting House

This picture represents one of the oldest meeting houses in the United States. Notice the palisades for protection against the Indians.

Education. Although public schools were started at an early date, they were both poor and scarce in colonial times. Many children were educated in private schools. Some of the wealthier planters and merchants had their children educated by private teachers in the household, or sent them to England for that purpose. Some of the boys and a great many of the girls were, of course, not educated at all. Reading, writing, and arithmetic were the most important studies. In the early times English grammar, geography, and history were not taught. There were no readers in use in the earliest of the colonial schools, and the quill pen was in constant use until replaced by pens made of steel or gold. In a few of the larger towns there were academies, which prepared students to enter college. There were not many books for general reading, but those books which the colonists had were often very carefully studied. The first American newspaper was published in Boston in 1704.

Witchcraft. There was not education enough, however, to banish the superstition of the time. The people believed in all sorts of signs, omens, and charms. Almost everything was looked upon as a sign of good or bad luck. When butter refused to come the cream was thought to be bewitched, and red-hot horse-shoes were dropped into the churn to drive out the witches.

The people thought that certain elderly women were possessed of evil spirits and brought all sorts of misfortunes upon the colony. The people of Salem, Massachusetts, thought that these women, whom they called witches, were the cause of Indian attacks, smallpox, and various other diseases. They acted upon the command which they found in the Bible, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," and before the delusion had passed away a large number of unfortunate but innocent persons had lost their lives.

Such, then, was the rude and simple life which our forefathers lived in colonial days. They did not have the advantages which we now enjoy, yet many men of sturdy character came from the ranks of the homespun colonials. They were men "with blood in their veins, and iron in their blood."

It was these self-reliant planters, merchants, farmers, trappers, backwoodsmen, fishermen, and sailors who separated the colonies from the mother country, and made them free and independent states. We must now study the causes which led up to this separation.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Which one of the three systems of local government do you have in your state?
2. Make a list of your county officers.
3. How many counties are there in your state? Which is the largest in area? Which in population?
4. Make a map of your county, showing the townships, if there are any.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

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2. G. C. Eggleston, "Our First Century," 180–191 (Colonial Industries); 191–203 (Education); 204–218 (Social Life); 218–228 (Slavery); 229–238 (Colonial Customs); 239–242 (Witchcraft); 243–253 (Commerce).

CHAPTER VIII

THE CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The British in America. After a long struggle Great Britain had won America from France. America was now English, at least all of it east of the Mississippi River. France had been driven from the continent, and Spain's possessions lay far away beyond the "Father of Waters." The English colonies were now no longer afraid of hostile neighbors. They felt able to take care of themselves against the Indians, and it seemed, with their French and Spanish rivals out of the way, that their growth would be free and easy. The important question now was whether Great Britain could provide for the best interests of the colonies, for their peaceful government, for the growth of their trade, and for their expansion toward the west, which was sure to come.

The British Empire. In the late war England had won both India and America, and as the American colonies were now a part of the great empire, Great Britain set about to govern them in a way that would bring them more directly under her control. It was quite natural for Englishmen to wish to do this, but it was not easy. For more than a hundred years the Americans had been left comparatively alone to take care of themselves. They now had interests of their own apart from those of Great Britain. They were quite free, with local self-government of their own. In fact, they were the freest colonies in the world. They were independent in spirit, and it is very clear that if they were to be kept in the empire it must be done by having their good-will, that is, by keeping them contented and satisfied. It was the effort to reorganize the colonies and to bring them

into real subjection to Parliament that caused the quarrel and separation.

The English Government. Unfortunately at this time the British government was not very wisely conducted. George III, an obstinate and in some ways a stupid king, had just come to the throne (1760), and he attempted to take the government into his own hands instead of allowing able ministers to rule. In England the prime minister governs through Parliament, and the king must act on the minister's advice. George III sought to make his ministers do as he wished. By means of royal favors and money bribes the king controlled the votes of a group of members in Parliament who came to be called "the king's friends," while the Whig party that had been in control of the government for many years was divided into factions.

Moreover, Parliament did not represent the people. There were populous towns that had no representation at all in Parliament, while "rotten boroughs," like "Old Sarum," where no people lived at all, still had members of Parliament merely because they had had them long ago. The members for these places were chosen by some lord or rich landowner. These conditions were bad and were most unfavorable to the adoption of wise and unselfish laws for the colonies.

Causes of the Quarrel. Besides these bad conditions at home and the free and independent spirit of the colonies, there were other causes leading to the quarrel with the mother country. The French war had been expensive, and it had greatly increased the British debt. Taxation was heavy, and with the enlarged territory in America, the expenses of the government there were sure to be greater. Now that the colonies were growing and their trade was increasing, the English began to think of the benefits they might derive from America. The landlords wished to escape some of the burdens of taxation and the merchants wanted the profits of the American trade. These two classes in England controlled the government and they induced George III and his new minister, Lord Grenville, to adopt a new colonial policy.

They adopted three measures which brought on the quarrel leading to the American Revolution. They were:

(1) to enforce trade laws that were injurious to the colonies;

(2) to quarter a British army in America;

(3) to tax America for the army's support.

Navigation and Trade Laws. These laws had been passed by Parliament from time to time since 1651. Their purpose was to exclude other nations from trading with the British colonies. The British merchants wanted the colonies as a market for British goods. So it was provided that if goods were carried to America from other countries in Europe they were first to be landed in England. This made such goods more expensive. Many American products such as tobacco, cotton, indigo, rice, and sugar could be sent only to England. The colonists were forbidden to send their woolen goods or hats to any country except England, or from one colony to another, while New England lumber was not allowed to be freely exchanged for the sugar and molasses of the French West Indies. This aided the English merchant and manufacturer.

Smuggling and Writs of Assistance. For many years these trade laws had not been enforced. John Adams said they were old and out of use and nobody expected them to be enforced. Their violation was so common and smuggling was so generally practiced that it was costing the government three dollars to collect one dollar in revenue at American ports. The government proposed to change this and in order to find out where smuggled goods were the officers resorted to "writs of assistance." If a custom-house officer suspected that imported goods had been secretly landed and hidden somewhere without paying the duties, he could go to court and ask for a search warrant authorizing him to search merchants' stores and houses. This was a legal way, but as some of the writs authorized the officer to search any one's house and did not hold him to account for what he had done, they might be used for personal annoyance and spite. James

Otis, an eloquent young lawyer in Massachusetts, who was prosecuting attorney for the king, resigned his office and spoke without fee against these writs. John Adams, who heard Otis's famous speech in 1761, said that Otis was "like a flame of fire" and that "then and there American independence was born." It is clear that if these trade laws were to be enforced America would wish to be independent, since these laws were not for the "benefit of the governed," as we were careful to state later in our Declaration of Independence.[1]

A Standing Army for America. Ten thousand troops were to be sent to America. The British government claimed that they were needed to protect the colonies from the Indians and the French. Pontiac's conspiracy, resulting in a great Indian war on the frontier, had occurred in 1763. Hundreds of families had been massacred and their homes burned, and this seemed to show the need for the protection of the soldiers. But the colonists had not asked for the troops, and did not want them, and they suspected that the real purpose in sending them was to increase the king's authority and help to enforce the trade laws. New York refused to furnish

PONTIAC TAKING UP THE HATCHET AGAINST THE ENGLISH

[1] In trying to get a monopoly of her colonial trade Great Britain was doing only what other nations were doing at that time, but that did not make any difference with the colonies whose interests were interfered with by the trade laws.

barracks for the troops and Parliament suspended the legislature of that colony until amends should be made. The colonists felt indignant and uneasy on this account.

The Taxing Policy: The Stamp Act. In order to help pay for the troops, Parliament decided to raise some money in America by a stamp tax. For this purpose the noted Stamp Act was

FANEUIL HALL

Faneuil Hall, in Boston, celebrated as "the Cradle of Liberty," from the many meetings held there during the American Revolution, was built in 1740–1742 by Peter Faneuil, a Huguenot merchant.

passed in 1765. It required government stamps to be placed on legal documents, wills, licenses, newspapers, pamphlets, etc. It was expected that the act would raise only about one third of the expenses which Great Britain would incur in governing America.

Reasons for the Stamp Act. It was urged on behalf of the taxing policy that the Americans ought to be grateful to England. They had the protection of the British army and navy, and they ought to help bear their fair share of the burdens of the empire.

They had received great benefits from the late war and none of the money that it was now proposed to raise in America was to be taken to England, but it was all to be spent in America. The stamp tax was as easy as any that could be thought of, and the only way to get the colonies to pay was for Parliament to impose the tax. It was clear that the colonies would not agree upon a tax among themselves, for Grenville had told them a year before the Stamp Act was passed, that if they would propose a tax they liked better, he would adopt it. So it seemed to the English that this act was only fair and right, and they had no idea that it would arouse such resistance in America.

Why Americans Resisted: "No Taxation without Representation." The colonists did not wish to be taxed by a legislature in which they were not represented. "No taxation without representation," was their motto. They did not wish to be represented in Parliament, — they were too far away for that; but they insisted that all laws for levying taxes should be voted by their colonial assemblies. That was the way it always had been, and they objected to this new way of voting taxes upon them by a Parliament three thousand miles across the sea.[1] They said they were willing to have an *external* tax (like a port duty) laid on them *for the purpose of regulating their trade*, but they were not willing to pay an *internal* tax (like the stamp tax) laid *for the purpose of raising revenue*.[2] So the Stamp Act met a storm of opposition in America. The "Sons of Liberty" marched through the streets shouting, "Liberty, Property, and no Stamps!" They compelled the stamp officers to resign and in some places the stamps were

[1] Americans said they were willing to pay to help bear the common burden of the Empire, but they wanted their direct taxes to be voted by their own assemblies. When the king wanted money from a colony a *requisition* was called for by the governor, and the colony in its legislature granted the money or refused it as it chose. This was the old way of raising soldiers or money for use outside the colony.

[2] See Franklin's Examination before a Committee of the House of Commons. Hart's "American History told by Contemporaries," Vol. II, pp. 407–411.

destroyed, and when the time came to enforce the act no stamps could be obtained.[1]

Patrick Henry in the Virginia Burgesses. The first note of alarm was sounded in Virginia. Patrick Henry, the greatest orator of the Revolution, offered resolutions in the House of Burgesses (May 29, 1765) in which he claimed that the "*Virginia*

DEBATE ON THE STAMP ACT

Patrick Henry making his speech against the Stamp Act in the Virginia House of Burgesses, at Richmond, May, 1765.

Assembly alone had the right to tax *Virginians*, and any attempt to vest this power in any other body tended to destroy *British* as well as *American* liberty." Tradition tells us that Henry in defending these resolutions exclaimed in a fiery passage, "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles I had his Cromwell, and George III—"

[1] Major James, an English officer in New York, was reported to have said: "I will cram the stamps down the throats of the people with the point of my sword." But the people mobbed his house and with threats of bloodshed and riot demanded the stamps, which were surrendered and deposited in the City Hall. Disobedience to the law was widespread in the colonies.

("Treason! Treason!" interrupted several members), "and George III," continued Henry, "may profit by their example. If that be treason make the most of it." Such was the bold, independent spirit of the Virginia colonist.

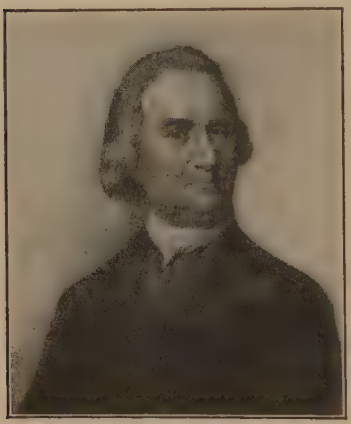
The Stamp Act Congress. The colonies now began to unite. Massachusetts by a circular letter to the other colonies called a meeting. Nine colonies responded by sending delegates to a "Congress" in New York, to consult together about the tax measures of Parliament. Here were seeds of union, the beginning of the movement toward final combination among the colonies. This Congress published a "Declaration of Rights and Grievances," written by John Dickinson. The Declaration said the colonies had the rights of Englishmen, that taxes could be voted only by the representatives of the people who were to pay the taxes, and that the people of Great Britain could not grant to the king the property of the colonists. They complained of the Stamp Act because it violated these principles and deprived offenders of the right of trial by jury.

The Stamp Act Repealed, 1766. It was soon seen that the Stamp Act could not be enforced without great expense or, perhaps, without bloodshed. The colonists were refusing to buy or import British goods, and when the British merchants saw that their goods were not selling so well in America, they urged Parliament to repeal the act. This was done the year after it was passed, and with the repeal Parliament passed a *Declaratory Act*, asserting the right to tax the colonies and "to legislate for them in all cases whatsoever." Americans took no notice of this, for they cared very little about Parliament's claim to such a right so long as no attempt was made to put it into force.

The Townshend Act: Tax on Paints, Paper, and Glass, 1767. There was great rejoicing in America over the repeal of the Stamp Act. The joy did not last long, for the very next year Parliament renewed the taxing policy. Charles Townshend, the most influential minister of the king at this time, carried through Parliament three measures providing (1) for suspending

the New York legislature until it would provide barracks for the English soldiers; (2) for a more strict enforcement of the trade laws; (3) for new taxes on glass, lead, painters' colors, paper, and tea. Townshend said he would regard the Americans' wish not to have an *internal* tax levied upon them. His tax was to be collected at the ports like an *external* tax, such as the Americans had said they were ready to submit to. This was very clever in Townshend, but the Americans saw that while the *form* of the tax was different, its *purpose* was the same,—to *raise revenue*, not to *regulate trade*, and they would not submit to it.

Renewed Resistance. The colonists agreed among themselves not to buy English goods. Samuel Adams, the "Father of the American Revolution," who knew how to stir up the people to resistance in the town meetings, got up a circular letter which he induced the Massachusetts assembly to adopt. This was then sent to the other colonies. The letter protested against the Townshend Acts, and boldly proclaimed the American principle of self-taxation. It said that the royal judges and governors should not be independent of the people and that the people ought not to be taxed to pay for a standing army forced upon them in time of peace. This so offended the home government that the Massachusetts assembly was dissolved for refusing to recall the letter, and the assemblies of Maryland, South Carolina, and Georgia were also dissolved for expressing approval of it. Virginia's



SAMUEL ADAMS

Born in Boston 1722. Died there in 1803. A member of the Massachusetts Assembly in 1765–1774, and of the Continental Congress throughout the Revolutionary War. He was one of the earliest and most persistent advocates of independence, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

legislature was dissolved for disapproving Parliament's treatment of New York. Evidently the quarrel was becoming serious.

The People Disliked the Soldiers: The "Boston Massacre." The presence of the British soldiers made matters worse. In New York they cut down a liberty pole every time the patriots replaced it, and at last (January, 1770) they not only cut it down but sawed it up and piled the pieces in front of the headquarters of the Sons of Liberty. A riot and fight followed and one citizen was killed.[1] In Boston the people met in mass meeting and voted that no standing army could be kept there without the colony's consent. The people thought the soldiers had a bad influence, with their Sunday horse-racing and gambling and sporting during church hours. On March 5, 1770, a crowd of men and boys hooted at a body of soldiers in the streets, calling them "lobsters," "rascals," and "bloody backs." By throwing sticks and stones they provoked the soldiers into firing upon the crowd. Five citizens were killed and six were wounded. All Boston was stirred to anger. A great mass meeting demanded that the troops be withdrawn from the city, and Governor Hutchinson felt forced to comply.[2] This event, called the "Boston Massacre," was brought to mind from year to year on the 5th of March by memorial meetings and speeches, and it was thus used to arouse the hatred of the people against the British. It did as much as any other event to cause separation and war.[3]

The Tea Tax and the "Boston Tea Party." In 1770 all the Townshend taxing measures were repealed except the tax on tea. This was retained merely to show that Parliament had a right to tax America. This was very foolish because the tax produced no revenue and its only effect was to keep up agitation in America. The East India Company had great quantities of tea in England

[1] It has been claimed for New York that this should be regarded as the first battle of the Revolution.

[2] The regiments that were sent out of Boston were ridiculed in England as "Sam Adams's regiments."

[3] The 5th of March was observed in Massachusetts as "a day sacred to the cause of liberty" until 1783, when the 4th of July was substituted.

which it could not dispose of, as the Americans had refused to buy. Parliament then removed the export duty on all tea shipped to America, so the colonists might pay the tax and still get their tea cheaper than before. But the colonists felt that the principle of self-taxation was involved and they would not buy the tea. At Philadelphia the tea ships were sent back. At Charleston the

Boston Tea Party Throwing the Tea Overboard, 1773

tea was landed and stored and afterwards seized and sold by the state. At Annapolis a tea ship was set on fire and its cargo consumed. At Boston when the governor refused to send back the tea, a party of citizens disguised as Indians boarded a vessel and threw it into the sea (1773).[1]

[1] Another illustration of the resistance of the Americans to the new British policy of enforcing their authority is seen in the affair of the *Gaspee*. The Townshend measures had legalized writs of assistance and naval officers were made revenue collectors. At times these officers were arrogant and too strict and the people disliked them. The *Gaspee*, a revenue cutter, kept stopping and searching every ship coming into Narragansett Bay. One night, while chasing a vessel, the *Gaspee* ran onto a sand bar and stuck fast. She was then boarded and burned to the water's edge by a band of Rhode Islanders and no one would testify or help punish the offenders. (1772.)

The Policy of Coercion. All these disturbances looked like tumult and sedition to the home government. The king and his ministers were angry. They looked upon the Americans as rioters and rebels who ought to be made to obey the law. If the government had repealed the tea tax, withdrawn the soldiers, and assured the Americans that they would be left to tax themselves as they had always done, all might have been well, though some think the colonists would have been satisfied with nothing short of independence. Parliament thought it could make no further concessions. The government had backed down on the Stamp Act and again on most of the Townshend taxes, and if Parliament now allowed its laws to be defied and disobeyed, all its authority in America would be gone. So instead of seeking conciliation by satisfying the Americans, Parliament decided to coerce and punish them.

CARPENTERS' HALL, PHILADELPHIA
Where the first Continental Congress met, 1774.

Five Intolerable Measures. Three coercive measures were passed:

1. The Boston Port Bill. — This closed the port of Boston till the colony should pay for the tea which had been destroyed. Boston was to be punished by having her commercial prosperity destroyed.

2. The Massachusetts Act. — This changed the charter of Massachusetts so as to give the king and his governor more

power. The old town meetings, which were looked on as "nests of sedition and self-government," were to be broken up, so that men like Samuel Adams could no longer arouse the people against the government.

3. The Act for the Administration of Justice. — This provided that any officer or soldier who was accused of murder in his attempts to suppress tumults and riots should not be tried by a jury in Massachusetts, but should be sent to England or to some other colony for trial.[1]

4. The Quebec Act, 1774. — In the same year with these coercive measures the Quebec Act was passed. This extended Canada to the Ohio River and offended the colonies claiming western lands.

5. A new Quartering Act was passed by which more troops were to be sent to America and quartered upon the people.

Committees of Correspondence. These acts to coerce Massachusetts threatened the interests of the other colonies. They saw that an injury to one was the concern of all. They showed by sending provisions to Boston, and by resolutions, that they were ready to stand by Massachusetts. In 1773 Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson had secured from the Burgesses a Committee of Correspondence, to communicate "with our sister colonies." Other colonies followed this example, and by this means they were able to act together in resisting the acts of Parliament. Committees of Correspondence were organized in the Massachusetts towns and this system of coöperation has been called "the backbone of the Revolution."

The First Continental Congress, 1774. These committees of correspondence were one of the early means of promoting union. By this means Virginia suggested a congress of the colonies. Massachusetts issued the call and the congress met at Philadelphia,

[1] The soldiers engaged in the "Boston Massacre" had been fairly tried and acquitted, but the British government was resolved not to trust Massachusetts justice again. The Americans felt that this would encourage the soldiers to use force too freely and that the "lives of citizens might be destroyed with impunity."

September 5, 1774. All the colonies but Georgia were represented, and here began a union movement which finally threw off British authority and made a new nation in America. A petition was sent to the king and letters to the people of Great Britain and to Canada; and, most important of all, there was formed an *American Association for Non-importation of British goods*.[1] Each colony was to act for itself in carrying out this agreement not to buy goods from England. They let it be understood that force against Massachusetts would be met by force. Another Congress was called to meet in May, 1775, to consider the answer of the king and Parliament.

THE MINUTE-MAN BOULDER AT LEXINGTON

"Where once the embattled farmers stood
And fired the shot heard round the world." — EMERSON

These "embattled farmers" were organized militiamen and are not to be thought of as leaving their plows in the furrows and each running into the fight in his own way, as boys run to a fire. They were organized into a military company, and when the alarm came "the men hastily changed their working clothes, seized their guns, with their powder horns and bullet pouches, and on foot and on horseback they came by short cuts and across fields, the sooner to reach the appointed place for roll call."

Lexington and Concord. Before the time came for the Second Congress the British and Americans had come to blows. The British govern-

[1] To carry out the plan of the "Association" a committee was to be chosen in every county, city, and town "to observe the conduct of all persons" touching the agreement. Merchants who continued to import English goods were to have their names published as enemies of their country and no one was to buy of them or sell to them. The people agreed to kill as few lambs as possible and give up eating mutton and to start domestic manufactures, especially of woolens, in order to be independent of England in the matter of clothing. Homespun suits became the custom and Dr. Franklin set the example. Ladies gave up tea-drinking, and the people were urged to be economical, to discourage horse-racing, gaming, cock-fighting, shows and plays, and extravagant funerals. The colonies were getting ready for a struggle.

STATUE OF THE MINUTE-MAN AT LEXINGTON, MASS.

The "Minute-men" were volunteer patriots of the Revolution who pledged themselves to be ready for service as soldiers at a minute's notice.

ment would not change its policy. Lord North, who was now the king's minister, said he would not tax the colonies provided they would agree to tax themselves to pay the soldiers and to carry on the king's government in America. When the colonies refused these terms, Massachusetts was declared in a state of rebellion. The patriot party, which was now obeying the assembly representing the people[1] instead of the royal governor, began to organize "minute-men," and to gather military stores.

General Gage sent some soldiers from Boston to Concord to destroy some of these supplies, and to arrest John Hancock and Samuel Adams. Paul Revere aroused the country along the road, shouting, "The regulars are coming."[2] Alarm bells were rung and signal-guns were fired and the "minute-men" came together. They came with their rifles from village and farm and gathered at Lexington, April 19, 1775. The British troops found about fifty men drawn up on the Lexington Green. "Disperse, ye rebels," shouted the British captain, Pitcairn. "Don't fire unless fired upon," said Captain Parker, of the "minute-men," "but if

[1] This is sometimes called the "Provincial Congress." There were similar bodies in other colonies.

[2] Read Longfellow's "Paul Revere's Ride."

they mean to have a war, let it begin here." The Americans stood their ground and the firing began. Eight Americans were killed and eight were wounded, and on that famous day at Lexington began the war of the American Revolution.[1]

The British soldiers went on and destroyed some supplies at Concord. At Concord bridge they were attacked by the Americans, and when the British fell back and started for Boston they found the countryside alive with riflemen, who, from behind tree and house, haystack, fence, and mound, poured in a deadly fire. When the exhausted troops reached the shelter of reinforcements at Lexington it is said "their tongues were hanging out, like dogs after a chase." The British had lost two hundred and seventy men, the Americans ninety-three.

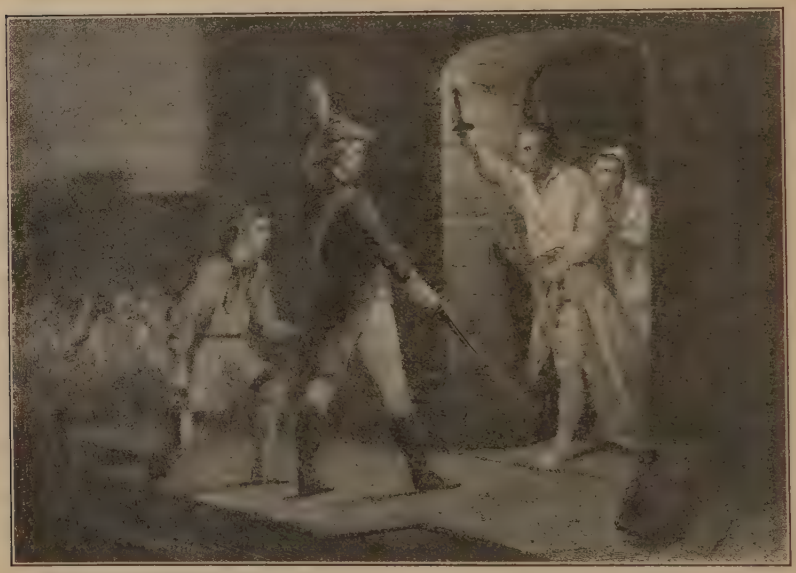
MAP OF EASTERN MASSACHUSETTS, SHOWING LEXINGTON AND CONCORD

Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775. Soon after the fight at Lexington and Concord a little American army from various colonies gathered about Boston and on June 17, 1775, occurred the battle of Bunker Hill. About fifteen hundred Americans under Warren, Putnam, and Prescott fortified a hill overlooking Boston. General Howe with about three thousand British soldiers was sent to dislodge them. The Americans resisted two desperate assaults, and they gave way at the third charge only after their ammunition had given out. The British left a thousand dead and wounded on the hillside; the Americans lost but four hundred and fifty, but among them was General Joseph Warren, one of the truest and bravest patriots of the Revolution.[2] This was a small battle with large results. It weakened the British army, aroused the fighting spirit in America, and dispelled the notion

[1] Read Emerson's "Concord Hymn," and Lowell's "Ode Read at Concord."
[2] Read Lowell's "Warren's Address."

that raw volunteers would not stand against British regulars. Washington and the American leaders felt that they could win their cause — with such a spirit as was shown at Bunker Hill.[1]

Ethan Allen and Ticonderoga: The Second Continental Congress. When Ethan Allen and the "Green Mountain Boys" heard of the fight at Lexington they came together in arms and



ETHAN ALLEN DEMANDING THE SURRENDER OF TICONDEROGA, MAY 10, 1775

on May 10, 1775, they seized the strong fort at Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress."

This was on the very day that the Second Continental Congress met at Philadelphia. The Congress now began to take direction of the war. It adopted the colonial troops around

[1] Read O. W. Holmes's "Grandmother's Story of Bunker Hill Battle;" Edward Everett's "Bunker Hill Monument: What Good?" Webster's "Address at Bunker Hill Monument."

Boston as the "Continental army," voted to raise twenty thousand men, and appointed George Washington commander-in-chief.

Washington takes Command. Washington was on his way to Massachusetts when he heard of the battle of Bunker Hill. On July 3, 1775, under the famous elm at Cambridge, he took command of the army.[1] It was fortunate for the Americans that they had at this time such a leader as Washington. He is known as the "Father of his Country," and no one did more than he to win our independence. A wise, patient, righteous, and God-fearing man, he was ready to serve his country without pay. He is now thought of as the greatest man of the American Revolution and one of the noblest of the English-speaking race. No other leader could have borne so well the burdens of the long war that was before his country.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. If it was the *principle* of the taxing policy and not merely *paying* that the Americans were objecting to, why did they not resist the Declaratory Act?
2. Why did Great Britain adopt a policy of coercion toward the colonies? What measures were adopted in pursuance of this policy? Can you show that a policy of conciliation would have been wiser? Would the Americans have been satisfied short of independence?
3. Make a list of American rights that had been violated by Great Britain between 1763 and 1775.
4. Make a map of the New England States, locating the principal places mentioned in this chapter.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

1. M. C. Tyler, "Life of Patrick Henry," 59–79 (Henry in the Virginia Convention). Read Henry's famous speech.
2. Higginson and MacDonald, "History of the United States," 208–320 (The British Yoke); 242–249 (Bunker Hill).
3. A. B. Hart, "Formation of the Union," 56–60 (Violence in the Colonies, Coercive Acts of Parliament).
4. John Fiske, "The American Revolution," Vol. I, 85–94 (The Boston Tea Party).

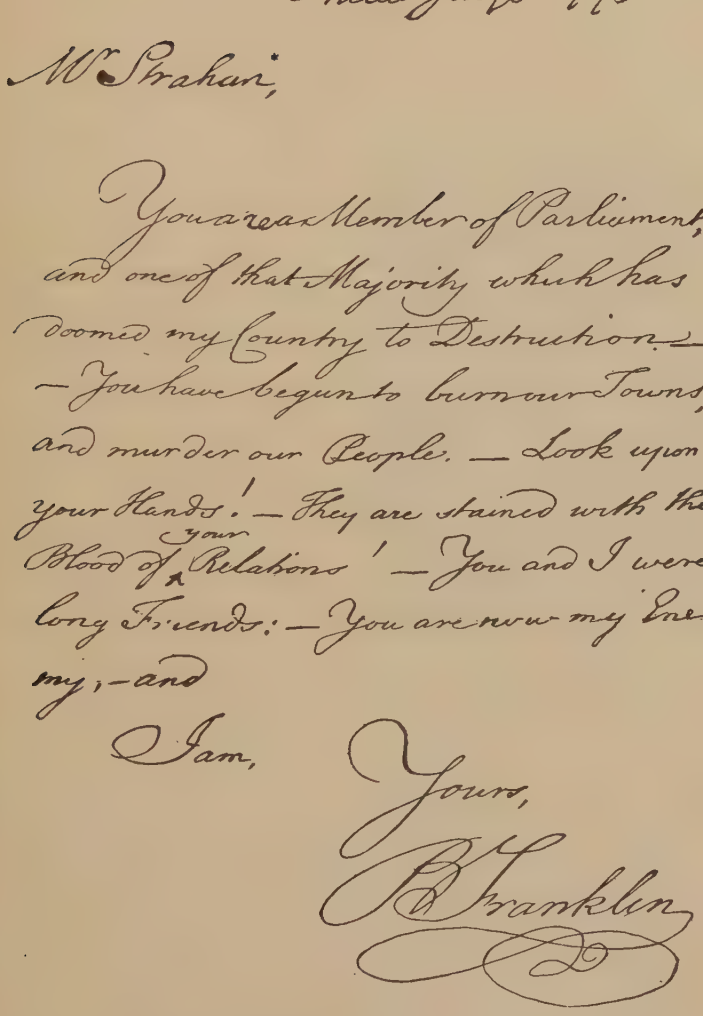
[1] This statement is based on tradition. Read Lowell's "Under the Washington Elm."

CHAPTER IX

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Why the Americans Took up Arms. The war had begun. But it must be remembered that it was not for independence that the Americans had taken up arms. Washington said, "When I first took command of the army I abhorred the idea of independence," and he still hoped for "a lasting and happy union with Great Britain." Jefferson said, "Before the 19th of April, 1775, I had never heard a whisper of a disposition to separate from the mother country." Franklin said that the colonists did not desire independence and that they did not oppose the measures of Parliament for this purpose. In July, 1775, Congress published for the colonies the "Causes of Taking up Arms." It was to defend their rights. They felt that the king had made war upon his people and that they had either to submit to tyranny or to resist by force. They said they took up arms "in defense of the freedom that is our birthright, for the protection of our property, against violence actually offered, — being of one mind resolved to die freemen rather than to live slaves." But they still hoped to be reconciled to the mother country and to avoid the calamities of war.

Whigs and Tories. In this quarrel, and in the war to which it led, the American cause had warm friends in England. William Pitt, or Lord Chatham, the greatest English statesman of that day, said he rejoiced that America had resisted. He said Parliament had *no right* to tax America. Edmund Burke, another great English statesman, pleaded with Parliament to pursue a wiser policy toward the colonies. He said it was not *expedient* to tax America. Charles J. Fox, another English leader, spoke


Philad.a July 5. 1775

Mr Strahan;

You are a cruel Member of Parliament, and one of that Majority which has doomed my Country to Destruction. — You have begun to burn our Towns, and murder our People. — Look upon your Hands! — They are stained with the Blood of your Relations! — You and I were long Friends: — You are now my Enemy, — and

I am,

Yours,

B Franklin

FRANKLIN'S FAMOUS LETTER TO STRAHAN
After the beginning of the war.

of Washington and his troops as "our army," and he rejoiced at American victories. These men were English *Whigs* who were disposed to favor popular rights and to oppose the king's power. On the other hand, many Americans favored Great Britain and some of them fought in the British armies during the war. Perhaps a third of the people in America, in some places a majority, opposed the Revolution. These were called Tories. The American Whigs, who called themselves the patriot party, stood out boldly against Parliament and the king. They wished the colonial governors and judges to depend on the people for their election and their salaries, while the Tories would have these officers appointed and controlled by the king and paid by the tax measures of Parliament. The Tories became very unpopular, because they appeared to be against their country and were thought to be sending false reports to the home government, representing the colonists as disorderly and seditious, and saying that more troops should be sent and a firmer hand shown in governing the colonies. So the war of the Revolution is to be thought of as a civil war. It was not entirely a war of the English against the Americans, but was rather a war between two parties, and in some places it became a very bitter partisan warfare. However, the majority in Great Britain favored the war against America.

Causes Leading to Independence. It is safe to say that when the war began not a fifth of the people had independence in view. The war had gone on more than a year before the Declaration of Independence was adopted. The colonies did not wish to cut themselves off from the mother country. They were proud of the English name and dominion and they gloried in English history, but they insisted also upon having the rights of Englishmen. Parliament, in which they were not represented, was attempting to tax them, to restrict their commerce, to suspend their legislatures, to change their charters, to close their ports, to transport them for trial, to plant troops among them without their consent, to make their judges and governors independent of their control, and, in some cases, to deprive them of the right

of trial by jury. The colonists petitioned and remonstrated before they resorted to arms. In the summer of 1775 Congress submitted a petition to the king, its "olive branch of peace." This was rejected and the king declared the colonies "in a state of rebellion" and said that he would use all the forces at his command to subdue them. When some of their towns were burned by the king's forces, as Norfolk, Charlestown, and Falmouth, the sentiments of the colonists began to change. Many were now ready to cut loose from England and seek foreign aid before they would submit.[1]

DRAFTING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. FRANKLIN. JEFFERSON. JOHN ADAMS. ROGER SHERMAN. ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON

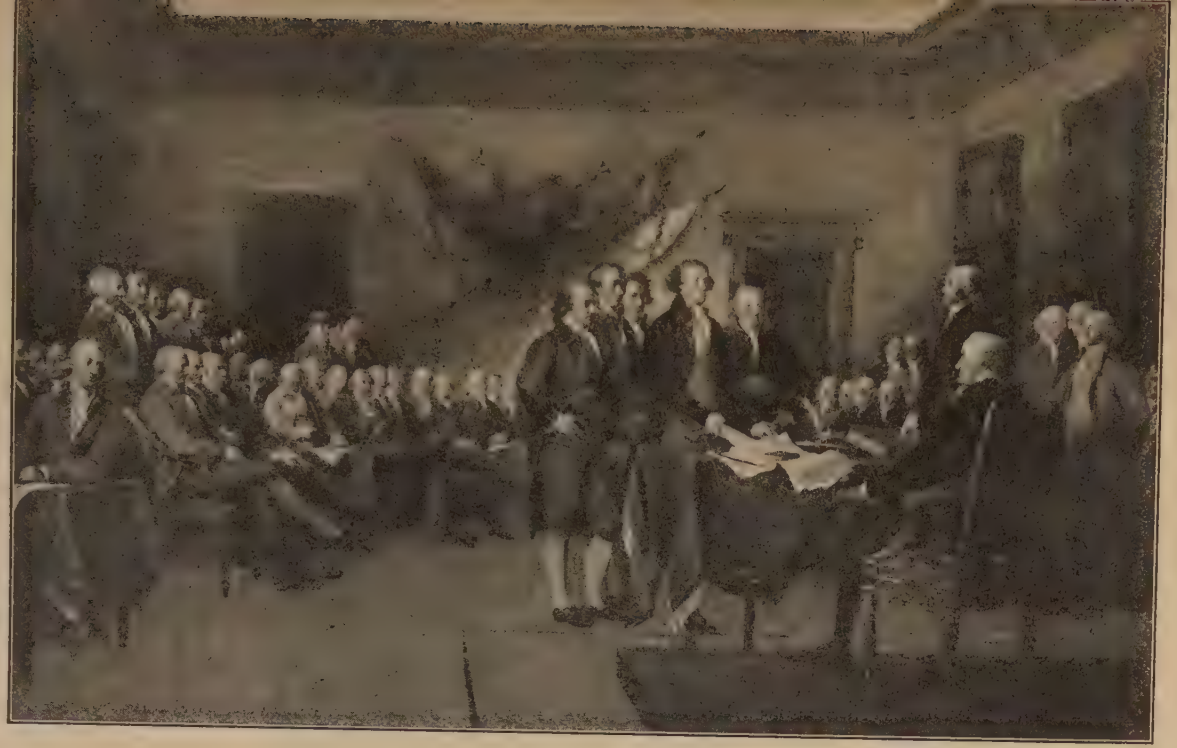
Thomas Paine and "Common Sense." In the early part of 1776, while the people were feeling very bitter toward the king and the British government, Thomas Paine published his powerful pamphlet, "Common Sense." This was the first bold argument for independence. Paine sought first to get the minds of the people away from their foolish worship of kings. "One honest man is worth more to society in the sight of God than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived," he said. Paine showed that the connection with Great Britain would continually involve America in European wars and quarrels, and interfere with our markets. And, besides, it was absurd

[1] Some historians think that many patriot leaders wished independence from the first, so that the colonies should have only a nominal connection with Great Britain, while Parliament should exercise no real authority over them. See Fisher's "The Struggle for American Independence."

for a great continent to be dependent on a little island three thousand miles away, — the earth might as well revolve around the moon. The people everywhere read what Paine wrote and were greatly influenced by it.

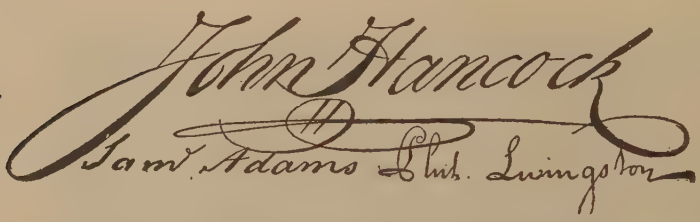
The Hessians. There was one thing that had greater weight than Paine's writings in promoting the spirit of independence. This was the coming of the Hessians. These were the "foreign mercenaries" that the king had hired in Hesse-Cassel, a little state in Germany, to fight against the Americans. In May, 1776, the Americans learned that ten thousand of these Hessians were coming to help subdue them. They had no principle at stake, no love of country to fight for, but they were coming merely for pay, hired by the British to fight against British flesh and blood in America. This aroused bitter resentment among Americans. It made reconciliation hopeless and the Declaration of Independence certain.

The Declaration of Independence. Virginia led the movement for independence. In May, 1776, that colony instructed her delegates in Congress to propose the final step. Accordingly, on June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, offered his famous resolution: "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states." A committee was appointed consisting of Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston, to prepare the declaration. Jefferson wrote it, as he said, "without reference to book or paper." Adams and Franklin made a few changes. When it was presented to Congress for adoption Jefferson sat silent, as he was not a debater. John Adams was the boldest speaker in favor of independence. There was opposition and much division of opinion even among the patriot party. Some of the colonies finally voted for the Declaration chiefly for the reason that they wished all the colonies to stand together, since they knew that the chief hope of the king and his ministers was that the union among the colonies would not last. "United we stand, divided we fall," was the motto of the colonists. Or, as Franklin said



THE SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Independence was decided on in the Continental Congress on July 2, and was formally announced on July 4, the day we celebrate. The signing took place on August 2. "The unanimous adoption of the Declaration was the important event; the signing, a mere final touch, an afterthought." The names of the signers were not known for six months, — a matter of prudence, as such treason might bring the signers to the gallows.



SIGNATURES TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
Hancock said he would sign so George III could read the name without his glasses.

while they were signing the Declaration, "we must all hang together or we shall all hang separately." Finally, on July 4, 1776, in spite of fears and opposition, the Declaration of Independence received the sanction of Congress. It declared the United Colonies to be independent states, and that they were absolved from all allegiance to the British crown. "And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor."

LIBERTY BELL
The Liberty Bell was inscribed with the words, "Proclaim liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof" (Leviticus xxv, 10). The bell, then in the Pennsylvania State House, was rung to announce the adoption of the Declaration of Independence.

The Political Principles of the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration of Independence is one of the most famous documents ever published in the history of the world. An English historian has called it "that noble Declaration which ought to be hung up in the nursery of every king and blazoned on the porch of every royal palace." Its famous preamble announces the principles underlying our form

of government and it is well for school children to commit its words to memory:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: — That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

This teaches that the object of government is to secure the rights of the people, — life, liberty, property — and that from the people alone its powers are derived. If a government *injures* the people instead of protecting them, if it takes away their liberty and property, the people ought to overthrow that government and set up a good government in its stead. And all men should have equal protection under the government and the laws. Boys demand fair play in their games; the umpire must apply the rules of the game to all alike, showing no favors to the rich boy nor putting any handicaps on the poor boy. Likewise, under the government there should be a "square deal," a fair and equal chance for all, high or low, rich or poor, white or black. "Equal rights for all and special privileges for none." These were the great principles of government that America announced when she first sought to take her place among the nations of the world.

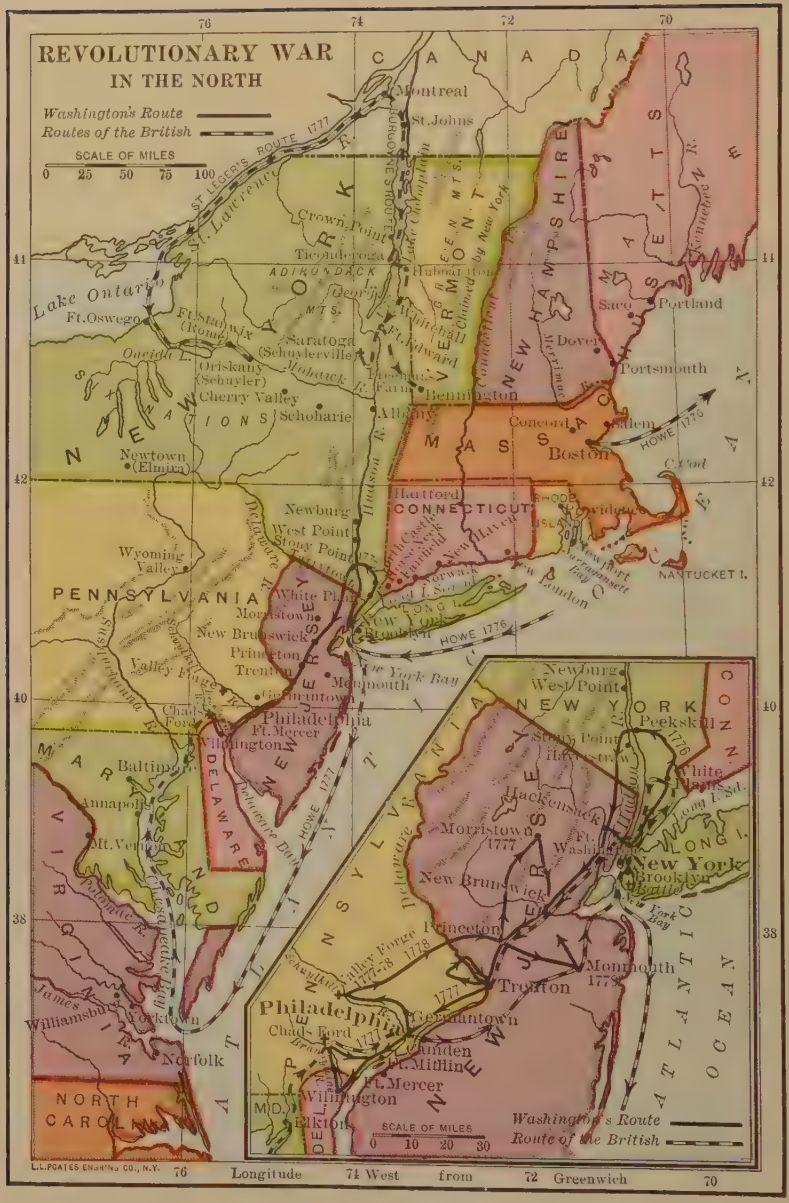
QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. For what cause did the Americans take up arms?
2. Recite a number of causes leading the colonists to favor independence.
3. Commit to memory the Preamble of the Declaration and explain the principles that it sets forth.

4. Underline in the Declaration of Independence the various grievances the colonists had against England. Prove from what you have read in your history that these grievances existed.
5. Indicate from statements made in the Declaration the forbearance of the colonists.
6. Read the pledge made by the signers. What did this pledge mean to some of them?
7. Select the names of the men you know most about who signed the Declaration. Tell something of interest about each.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

1. Claude H. Van Tyne, "The American Revolution," 50–65 (The Spirit of Independence).
2. E. E. Sparks, "The Men who Made the Nation," 79–118 (John Adams, the Defender of Independence); 151 (Adopting and signing the Declaration).
3. A. B. Hart, "Source Book of American History," 147–149 (Drafting of Declaration).


REVOLUTIONARY WAR
IN THE NORTH
Washington's Route
Routes of the British
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 75 100
C A N A D A
Montreal
St. Johns
St. Lawrence R.
ST LEGER'S ROUTE 1777
Lake Champlain
Lake George
Crown Point
Ticonderoga
ADIRONDACK MTS.
Hubbardton
Lake Ontario
Ft. Oswego
Ft. Stanwix (Rome)
Saratoga (Schuylerville)
Oneida L.
Oriskany (Schuyler)
Mohawk R.
Cherry Valley
Schoharie
Ft. Edward
Hudson R.
Bennington
Albany
Newtown (Elmira)
Newburgh
West Point
Stony Point
Wyoming Valley
PENNSYLVANIA
White Plains
Morristown
New Brunswick
Princeton
Trenton
Monmouth
Germantown
Philadelphia
Ft. Mercer
Wilmington
Valley Forge
Chad's Ford
Brandywine
Baltimore
Annapolis
Mt. Vernon
DELAWARE
MARYLAND
VIRGINIA
Yorktown
Williamsburg
James R.
Norfolk
NORTH CAROLINA
Hartford
CONNECTICUT
Norwalk
New Haven
Saybrook
Providence
RHODE ISLAND
Boston
Concord
Salem
HOWE 1776
Charlestown
Bunker Hill
Dorchester Heights
Cambridge
Roxbury
Dedham
Framingham
Worcester
Springfield
Connecticut R.
Merrimack R.
Dover
Portsmouth
Saco
Portland
NANTUCKET I.
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASSACHUSETTS
VERMONT
NEW YORK
Newburgh
West Point
Stony Point
Peekskill
White Plains
Hackensack
Morristown 1777
Ft. Washington
New York
Brooklyn
Staten I.
New Brunswick
Princeton
Monmouth 1778
Trenton
Valley Forge 1777-78
Philadelphia
Germantown
Chad's Ford
Camden
Ft. Mifflin
Ft. Mercer
Wilmington
Elkton
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30
Washington's Route
Route of the British
ATLANTIC OCEAN
L.L. POATES ENGRG. CO., N.Y.
76 Longitude 74 West from 72 Greenwich 70
41
42
40
38

CHAPTER X

THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE, 1775–1783

The British Evacuate Boston. We left Washington with his little army about Boston in July, 1775. For ten months he kept the British within the town, and when he seized Dorchester Heights (March 17, 1776) the British were forced to retire. They and many of their Tory friends boarded a fleet and "went to Halifax" and other colonies.

Invasion of Canada. In the fall of 1775, Washington determined to attack Canada to prevent invasion from the north and trouble with the Indians. One body of troops under Benedict Arnold struggled through the forests of Maine. Another, led by Richard Montgomery, a brave Irish-American, went by Lake Champlain and Montreal. Together they attacked Quebec, December 31, 1775, but were repulsed. Montgomery fell dead at the first charge, Arnold had his leg broken by a bullet, and the Americans were forced to retire from Canada.

The British Seek Control of the Hudson. The first object of the British in the war was to take New York and Philadelphia and gain control of the Hudson River. They would thus cut the colonies in two by separating New England from the South. They could then conquer each section separately. Washington brought his army from Boston to defend New York, but he was defeated by General Howe in the battle of Long Island (August 27, 1776). Howe's forces, about thirty thousand men, greatly outnumbered Washington's, and the American army was barely saved from capture by Washington's strategy

"The Spirit of '76"

of leaving his campfires burning while he ferried his troops across the East River to New York in the night.[1]

Washington's Memorable Retreat to Trenton. Washington left Manhattan Island and took a strong position at White Plains, up the Hudson, where there was some skirmishing. He lost three thousand men as prisoners of war when the British took Fort Washington. These might have been saved to the army but for the interference of Congress, and their loss seemed to be a crushing blow to the American arms. Worse still, Washington was hindered and distressed by the mutiny and disobedience of General Charles Lee, who refused to bring his seven thousand men to join the main body of the army. Lee was jealous of Washington and wanted to be commander-in-chief. Nothing was left for Washington but to retreat through New Jersey to the west side

NATHAN HALE STATUE

Nathan Hale, the martyr spy, was born in 1754, was executed on Sept. 22, 1776. This statue stands in City Hall Park, New York City.

MONUMENT TO THE PRISON-SHIP MARTYRS, NEW YORK

The British occupied New York City and took many prisoners who were kept on prison ships anchored near by. About twelve thousand of these prisoners died and this monument was erected to their memory.

[1] Many prisoners taken by the British on Long Island suffered great hardships on the "prison ships" anchored in the bay. The "Jersey" was the most notorious of these worn-out vessels, where prisoners died from close confinement and from lack of food and water. It was just after the retreat from Long Island that Nathan Hale, a young man of twenty-one, went into the British camp to obtain information for Washington. He was captured and hanged as a spy. The last words of the brave young soldier were: "My only regret is that I have but one life to lay down for my country."

of the Delaware. The British followed, hoping to capture the whole American army. They might have done so if they had pursued with vigor and at the same time, if they had struck quickly, they might have captured Philadelphia. But Howe sought ease and comfort in winter quarters. This suggests one cause of American success in the Revolution, — the incompetency of the British commanders and the greater ability of Washington and the larger sacrifices his soldiers were willing to undergo.

A Dark Hour in the Revolution. It was a dark hour for America. Washington's army was defeated and in retreat. His men were ragged, poorly armed, and without food. The people were disheartened. The British and Hessians were plundering in New Jersey, and many were deserting the American cause, ready to take advantage of General Howe's offer of pardon by seeking British protection. Philadelphia was in danger and Congress, giving all authority to Washington, fled from that city to Baltimore.

Thomas Paine and the "Crisis." It was in these dark days of defeat and despair that Paine's first number of *The Crisis* appeared.

"These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it *Now* deserves the love and thanks of man and woman." In stirring words Paine appealed to the people to fight on against the British and he helped to give them heart for greater efforts. In the cause of American liberty Paine's pen was almost as powerful as Washington's sword.

Robert Morris and the Finances. Help came to the American cause from another source. One great need of the country was money with which to carry on the war. When Congress fled from Philadelphia to Baltimore, the little credit it had fled too. The paper money Congress had issued, known as "continental money," was openly refused or taken at only half its face value. Later this money came to be worth nothing at all, and gave rise

to the expression "not worth a continental." In its fear of capture Philadelphia "seemed to be on wheels," as the citizens were hauling their beds, furniture, and baggage through the streets in an effort to save their property. The time of service of many of the soldiers was about to expire and they could not be asked to stay with the army or re-enlist without pay. In this time of greatest distress, Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, worked with great energy, going from house to house on New

WASHINGTON CROSSING THE DELAWARE

Year's Day, 1777, to borrow money to uphold the patriot cause. He sent Washington fifty thousand dollars for the army, and Washington pledged his private fortune to pay the soldiers if Congress should fail, and other officers followed his example.

The Victories of Trenton and Princeton. In these dark days Washington did not lose heart. He determined on a bold stroke. On December 25, 1776, while the Hessians at Trenton were on a Christmas carousal he crossed the Delaware amid snow and ice, surprised the enemy, captured a thousand Hessians and their arms, with the loss of only two officers and two private soldiers.

Washington quickly retreated before Cornwallis could come up, and a week later he recrossed the river and won another complete victory in the battle of Princeton (January 3, 1777). Cornwallis was completely outgeneraled, and these victories gave new hope to the Americans.

Brandywine, Germantown, and Valley Forge. In August, 1777, Howe brought his army by fleet, eighteen thousand strong,

WASHINGTON AND LA FAYETTE AT VALLEY FORGE

to the head of Chesapeake Bay, to capture Philadelphia. He defeated Washington on Brandywine Creek (September 11, 1777), and again at Germantown, October 4, 1777, where in the fog and confusion one division of Washington's men fired upon another. Howe entered Philadelphia. Washington then went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, where the sufferings of his soldiers have made that terrible winter historic. Owing to the fault of the commissary department in not having the army supplies at the right place, Washington had to report three thousand of his

soldiers as "unfit for duty, barefoot and naked." The line of march to winter quarters had been marked by blood upon the snow from frost-bitten feet. Without blankets, the men sat up at night by their camp-fires to keep warm. Cold and hunger increased the sick list, while their hospitals were mere log huts, or wigwams, where the sick had hardly enough straw to keep their bodies off the frozen ground. Braver and truer men never stood by a commander than those who suffered with Washington for the American cause at Valley Forge.[1]

CAMPAIGNS AROUND PHILADELPHIA AND VICINITY

The Conway Cabal. In this suffering the chaff was winnowed from the wheat. Nearly three thousand men deserted to the British army at Philadelphia, where they could get food and shelter. During the winter, also, some officers formed a combination, called the "Conway Cabal," to displace Washington from command and put Gates in his place. The plot fell through and Washington stood higher than ever with the country.

Burgoyne's Invasion and Defeat. The British planned a new campaign in order to obtain control of the Hudson. An army under General Burgoyne was to come down from Canada, and General Howe, with his army, was to go up from New York and join him at Albany. Another army under St. Leger was to go by Lake Ontario to Oswego, take Fort Stanwix and come down the Mohawk. As we have seen, Howe took his force to capture

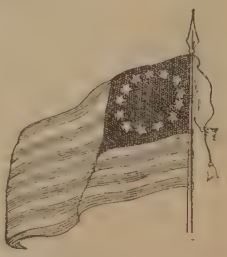
[1] At Valley Forge one great benefit came to the American army; that was a fine drill by Baron Steuben, a German officer who had joined the Americans. This very useful discipline counted for much in later fighting.

BARON STEUBEN

A Prussian General who fought on the side of America. Born 1730, died 1794.

Philadelphia and this left all the American forces in the North to go against Burgoyne.

Battle of Bennington. Burgoyne, with about eight thousand men, captured Ticonderoga without resistance, July 5, 1777. But the farther he got into the enemy's country the worse off he became. Schuyler, the American commander, with only four thousand men, put all kinds of difficulties in his way, destroying bridges, felling trees, and burning what could be used for supplies. Burgoyne could hardly make a mile a day. He sent eight hundred men under Colonel Baum to capture some supplies at Bennington, Vermont. They were met by an equal force under Colonel John Stark and General Warner, and were cut to pieces (August 16, 1777). Baum lost his whole force.[1]



FIRST NATIONAL FLAG

Burgoyne Surrenders at Saratoga. Burgoyne was now doomed. He had no hope of help from any source and soon his retreat to Canada would be shut off.[2] He attempted to cut his way out and save his army, but he was beaten at Bemis Heights by the skill and valor of the troops under Arnold and Morgan (September, 1777). He was defeated again at Saratoga in one of the "deci-

[1] It was before this fight that Captain Stark is reported to have said, "Boys, we must beat them to-day or to-night Molly Stark is a widow." Stark was a veteran of the Seven Years' War and had fought at Bunker Hill and Trenton.

[2] St. Leger could not unite his force with Burgoyne's and had to march back to Canada.

sive battles of the world" (October 17, 1777). He was compelled to lay down his arms and surrender his entire army of six thousand men to General Horatio Gates, who had succeeded Schuyler.

This was the most important military event of the war. It was the turning-point in the struggle, for its immediate result was the alliance between France and America, and French aid was very important in bringing the war to a successful conclusion.

THADDEUS KOSCIUSKO

Kosciusko was a Polish patriot who served under Washington in the Revolution. He rendered valuable services to the American cause and received the thanks of Congress. Afterward he became the leader and defender of Poland in her struggle for independence. His unselfish patriotism secured for him the admiration of the whole world.

French Assistance. In 1776, Silas Deane, Benjamin Franklin, and Arthur Lee were sent to France to ask aid. The French had held off to see if America would fight successfully for her independence. Burgoyne's surrender convinced them and they now came out openly on the American side. In February, 1778, France made a treaty of commerce and a treaty of alliance with America. In the treaty of alliance she recognized American independence, and as it was known that this would cause a war between France and Great Britain, France agreed not to make peace until American independence was secured. In 1777 La Fayette came to aid Washington and now the French began to fit out a fleet and army to fight Great Britain in America, and the French king loaned money liberally to the Americans.

The British Evacuate Philadelphia: The Battle of Monmouth. The effect of French aid was seen immediately. As soon as Clinton, who had succeeded Howe at Philadelphia, heard of the approach of the French fleet he abandoned that city for New York. Washington pursued Clinton's forces across New Jersey and a battle occurred at Monmouth (June, 1778) without deci-

sive results.[1] By the summer of 1778, the British occupied New York and Newport, and Washington was in his old position about White Plains.

Results of the Campaigns in the North. During 1778 and 1779 the Americans more than held their own in the North. The French fleet under D'Estaing could not take New York and it failed also in connection with General Sullivan's land forces to capture Newport. But on July 15, 1779, "Mad" Anthony Wayne, leading a body of twelve hundred Americans, stormed Stony Point, took five hundred prisoners, and recaptured that strong fortress in one of the most daring exploits of the war.[2]

Thus after four years of war the British were no further on toward conquering New England and the middle colonies than when the war began. The leading men in England saw that America could not be subdued.

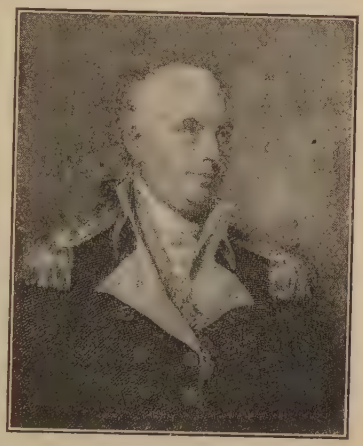
The Beginnings of the Navy. There was fighting on the sea as well as on the land. When the war began America had no navy, but in December, 1775, Congress ordered thirteen ships of war to be built, and bought some merchant ships to be used as cruisers. Esek Hopkins became the commander-in-chief of the first American squadron. As Hopkins stepped on the deck of his flag-ship, the *Alfred*, Lieutenant John Paul Jones raised the first flag ever hoisted on an American man-of-war. It was a yellow silk banner bearing a picture of a pine tree and a rattlesnake, with the motto, "Don't tread on me." Hopkins's first squadron of eight vessels went to the Bahama Islands and captured some English forts and supplies.[3]

[1] It was on this battle-field that General Lee caused a shameful retreat in disobedience of orders, which so provoked Washington that he rebuked Lee in terrible and righteous anger, and ordered him to the rear.

[2] "Light Horse Harry" Lee recaptured Paulus Hook on the New Jersey coast. In the summer of 1778, Tories and Indians, under Colonel Butler and Joseph Brant, plundered and killed many settlers in Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, and in Cherry Valley, New York. An expedition under General Sullivan retaliated on the Iroquois Indians and effectually broke their power.

[3] Maclay's "History of the Navy," Vol. I, p. 38.

Captain John Barry. Captain John Barry, an Irish-American, was one of our early naval heroes. In command of the *Lexington*, in 1776, he captured the *Edward*, the first ship ever taken by a commissioned officer of the United States Navy. In 1777 he captured a British war-ship in the Delaware, and later in command of the *Raleigh* he made a daring escape from a British war-ship by running his vessel aground. In 1781, while coming from France in command of the *Alliance*, Barry was attacked by two British vessels, and at first was caught in a position where he could not use his batteries. Barry's flag was shot away and he was desperately wounded in the shoulder, but he bravely continued the fight and compelled both British ships to surrender. The last action of the war was fought by Captain Barry in the *Alliance*.



CAPTAIN JOHN BARRY

John Barry was born in Ireland in 1745. He came to America in 1760, settling in Philadelphia. He was a daring naval commander during the Revolutionary War. He became the first senior officer with the rank of Commodore after the reorganization of the navy in 1794. He died in 1803.

Privateering. Most of our naval warfare during the Revolution was carried on, not by public vessels, but by privateers. (See page 197.) During the war American privateers took or destroyed nearly $10,000,000 worth of British ships and other property. Great Britain had more than one hundred strong war-ships which the American vessels could not defeat in a fight, and privateering was the best way America could meet this strong sea power.

John Paul Jones and the Bon Homme Richard. When France joined America in the war the naval situation changed. France brought sea power to the aid of America. It was France

that put John Paul Jones in command of the *Bon Homme Richard*. Jones gave this name to the vessel in honor of Dr. Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac*, in which he had found the impressive maxim, "If you wish a thing well done, do it yourself; otherwise, send." Jones "bearded the British lion in his den" by sailing to the very coast of England, where he scoured British waters for merchant vessels. Off the east coast of England he defeated the *Serapis* in one of the bloodiest sea duels in history.

FIGHT BETWEEN THE *Bon Homme Richard* AND THE *Serapis*

Jones ran his vessel alongside the *Serapis* and engaged in a death struggle, hand to hand. The *Richard* was on fire, her decks were covered with blood, a shot had pierced her hull under the water line, and water was pouring into the hold. The British commander hailed to know if the American ship had lowered its colors. Captain Jones replied, "I have not yet begun to fight." After two hours of desperate fighting some of Jones's men threw hand-grenades onto the British vessel. This caused a powder explosion and the sailors were thrown into confusion. The British commander hauled down his flag with his own hand, but not until the *Richard* was so disabled that Jones had to trans-

fer his men to the British vessel, while his own ship soon sank into the sea. This was in 1779.

The American sailors won praise in Europe, and England suffered as much on the sea as on the land.

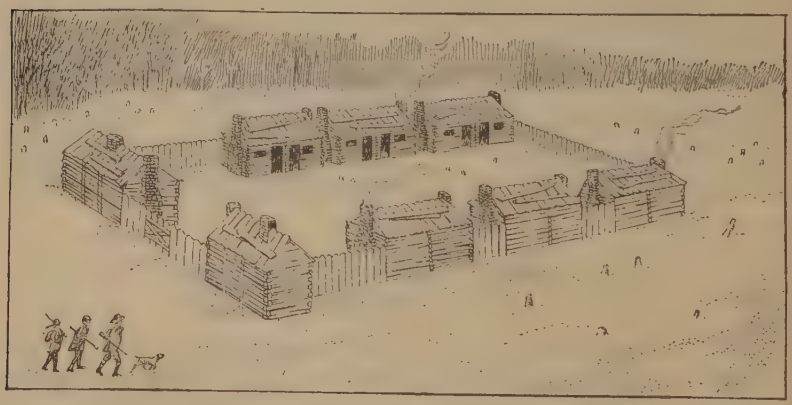
Arnold's Treason. When the British left Philadelphia Washington placed Benedict Arnold in command of that city. Ar-

CAPTURE OF ANDRÉ

The three militiamen who captured André were Van Wart, Paulding, and Williams. Congress rewarded them with silver medals and pensions for life.

nold's conduct led to a public reprimand from Congress. He felt himself abused and he planned the infamous course of selling himself and his country to the enemy. He asked Washington, who still had confidence in him, for the command of West Point, a fortress necessary to the control of the Hudson. Arnold was given the post, which he accepted with the intention of surrendering it to the British. It was an act of mean ingratitude to Washington and of the basest treason to his country. General Clinton

appointed Major John André to arrange the business with Arnold, who was to have thirty thousand dollars for his treachery. André came disguised within the American lines, and Arnold gave him a pass to return and papers describing the fort and its defenses. André put these papers in his boots, and on his way back to the British lines he was captured by three Americans who refused to let him go, although André offered them money and his watch if they would do so. They disregarded his pass, searched him, and found the papers from Arnold. André was taken to the American lines, but the news was sent to Arnold and this gave the traitor a chance to escape. He went to the British, received pay for his perfidy, and served for a while in the British army. After the war he lived in England and died in poverty, despised and scorned by all men. The Americans offered to exchange André for Arnold (whom they wished to hang), but the British refused, and the unfortunate André, like young Nathan Hale, was hanged as a spy.



Block Houses and Log Cabins — the First Settlement in Kentucky

The Struggle for the West. When England obtained the territory west of the Alleghenies, a proclamation was issued to prevent settlements there. The hardy frontiersmen paid no attention to the proclamation, if they ever heard of it. They

pushed over the mountains to find new homes in the wilderness. In 1769 and 1770 Tennessee was settled by William Beane, John Sevier, James Robertson, and other pioneers. In 1775 Daniel Boone, one of the greatest Indian fighters and frontier heroes in our history, led a party of settlers into Kentucky and founded Boonesboro and Lexington. These pioneers suffered

George Rogers Clark Heading an Expedition into the Northwest

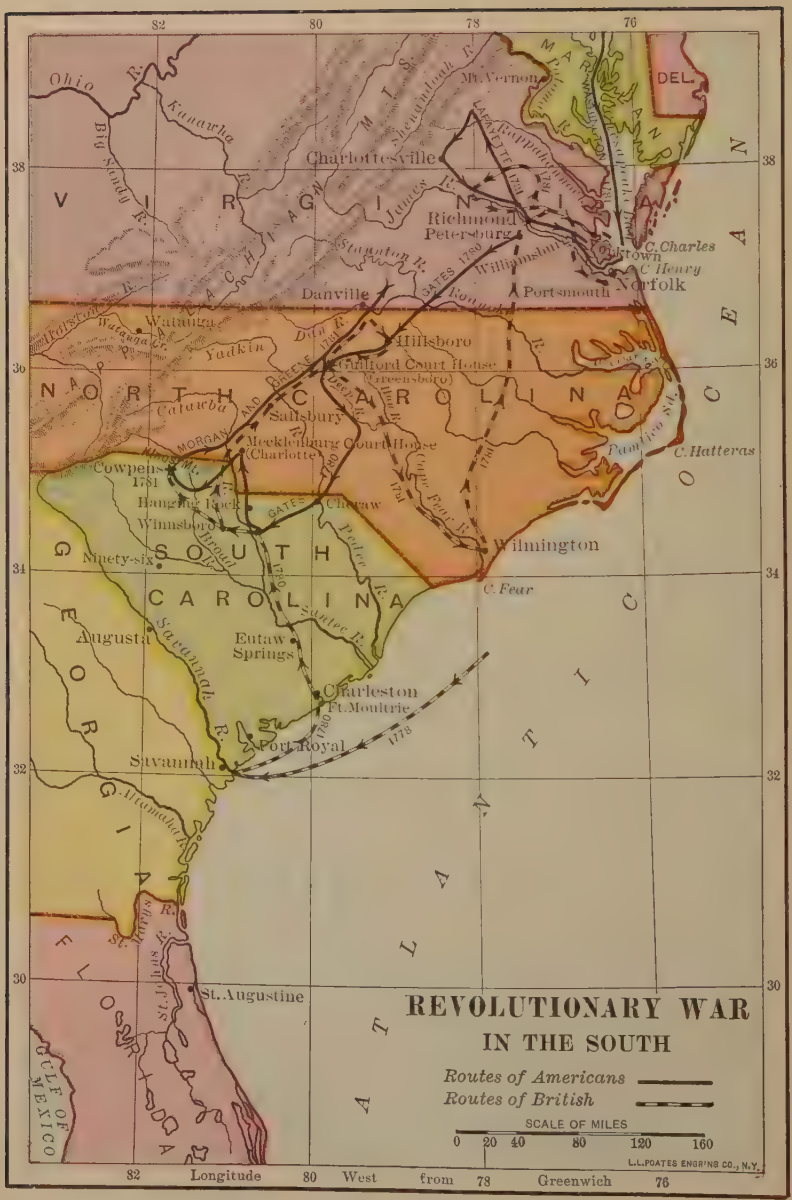
the dangers of privation and massacre; they cleared the forests, made settlements that grew into cities, and became the builders of new commonwealths.

The Northwest and George Rogers Clark. From the old French forts north of the Ohio, — Kaskaskia, Vincennes, and Detroit, — the British encouraged the Indians to attack the frontier. George Rogers Clark, of Virginia, was commissioned by Patrick Henry, governor of that state, to attack these forts and take possession of the country. Clark had been with Boone and was a great Indian

fighter. With fewer than two hundred men he floated down the Ohio from Pittsburg, marched one hundred miles across the swampy prairies and took Kaskaskia in southwestern Illinois. Vincennes was gained, but Colonel Hamilton, the British commander at Detroit, led a force of 500 men and recaptured that place. Clark marched promptly in the dead of winter.

THE EXPEDITION OF GEORGE ROGERS CLARK TO THE NORTHWEST
It resulted in making the Mississippi River the western boundary of the United States at the close of the Revolution.

He led his force of a little over a hundred men to the attack through the flooded lands of the Wabash Valley. The men were days at a time without food, often knee-deep and sometimes chin-deep in icy water. By such heroic endurance Clark surprised the garrison at Vincennes and won the town after a fight (1779). This expedition gave America military possession of the Northwest and may have aided America to obtain the Mississippi as her western boundary when the time came to make a treaty of peace.


REVOLUTIONARY WAR
IN THE SOUTH
Routes of Americans
Routes of British
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 80 120 160
L.L.POATES ENGR'NG CO., N.Y.
Longitude West from Greenwich
82 80 78 76
38 36 34 32 30
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
Ohio R.
Kanawha R.
Big Kanawha R.
Shenandoah R.
Potomac R.
Rappahannock R.
James R.
Staunton R.
Roanoke R.
Dan R.
Yadkin
Catawba R.
Broad R.
Saluda R.
Pee Dee R.
Cape Fear R.
Santee R.
Savannah R.
Alatamaha R.
St. Mary's R.
St. Johns R.
Mt. Vernon
DEL.
Charlottesville
Richmond
Petersburg
Williamsburg
C. Charles
Yorktown
C. Henry
Portsmouth
Norfolk
Danville
Watauga R.
Watauga Co.
Hillsboro
Guilford Court House (Greensboro)
Salisbury
Mecklenburg Court House (Charlotte)
Cowpens 1781
Ninety-six
Augusta
Eutaw Springs
Charleston
Ft. Moultrie
Port Royal
Savannah
St. Augustine
Wilmington
C. Fear
C. Hatteras
Pamlico Sd.
Albemarle Sd.
Chatham Co.
Rutherford Co.
Rowan Co.
Randolph Co.
Orange Co.
Granville Co.
Halifax Co.
Edenton
Cross Creek
Camden
Georgetown
Ninety-Six
Hanging Rock
Winnsboro
Cheraw
Pedee R.
Lynch's Creek
Waxhaw
Lancaster
Rocky Mt.
Kings Mt.
MORGAN
GATES 1780
GREENE 1781
GATES 1780
SUMTER 1780
SUMTER 1781
GATES 1780
CORNWALLIS 1781
1780
1781
1780
1781
1781
1780
1781
1781
1781

The War in the South. In June, 1776, the British were repulsed from Fort Moultrie in Charleston Harbor. It was here that the brave Sergeant Jasper, in the midst of the hottest fire from the British guns, climbed the parapet and restored the flagstaff which had been shot away. For two years the South was free from invasion. In 1778 the British captured Savannah. In 1779 the Americans tried to recapture this city with the aid of D'Estaing's French fleet, but they were repulsed, Count Pulaski, a brave Pole who had espoused America's cause, being among the slain. The British invaded South Carolina and captured Charleston with General Lincoln's army of three thousand men.

Partisan Warfare: King's Mountain and Cowpens. General Gates, now the American commander in the South, was totally defeated at Camden (August 16, 1780) and Georgia and South Carolina seemed lost to the American cause. But Marion, the "Swamp Fox," and Sumter and Pickens and other South Carolina patriots kept the Whig spirit alive and continued the fight, annoying the British by an irregular warfare. There was bitter partisan strife between the Whigs and Tories and there were excesses on both sides.

At King's Mountain (October 7, 1780) the hardy frontier riflemen under John Sevier, fighting like Indians from behind tree and rock, killed or captured a body of eleven hundred British. At Cowpens (January 17, 1781), a new American army, now under General Greene and General Morgan, defeated the British under Tarleton in one of the most notable and decisive battles of the war.

Greene's Victories in the South. Greene was not able to stand against Cornwallis's full forces. He retreated across North Carolina, the rivers rising in time to delay his pursuers. Greene fought at Guilford Court House (March 15, 1781). He was defeated, but Cornwallis lost so heavily that he was unable to pursue farther and retired to Wilmington, North Carolina, to seek the aid of the British fleet. Greene then returned to South Caro-

lina and at Hobkirk's Hill (April 25, 1781) so crippled the British forces under Lord Rawdon that they retreated to Charleston. Five months later Greene won the hard-fought battle of Eutaw Springs (September 8, 1781) and drove the British from the interior of Georgia to Savannah. Thus in a little over a year Greene had compelled the British forces to retire to three seaport cities, Wilmington, Charleston, and Savannah.

The British Surrender at Yorktown. The end was now near at hand. Cornwallis went to Virginia, fortified Yorktown, and settled down to await reinforcements. He was soon entrapped. The French fleet under DeGrasse sailed up the Chesapeake in September. The French troops at Newport joined Washington at New York, and the united forces marched rapidly southward to cut Cornwallis off by land, leaving Clinton in the belief that they intended to attack New York. The French fleet drove off the British ships, and Cornwallis, finding himself surrounded by land and sea, surrendered his entire army of seven thousand men, October 19, 1781.

MAP OF THE SIEGE OF YORKTOWN
Showing how the British were hemmed in by the French and American forces.

The Treaty of Peace. The surrender of Cornwallis virtually ended the war. When Lord North heard of it he exclaimed. "It is all over! It is all over!" The king saw that he would have to make peace and recognize American independence. Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay were sent to Paris to make a treaty with the envoys of the king. The American envoys were instructed to make no treaty without the consent of France; but they became convinced that France did not

wish to secure for America a good boundary on the west and that they could obtain a better treaty by themselves. "Would you break your instructions?" said Franklin to Jay. "Yes, as I break this pipe," said Jay, as he threw his pipe against the grate. A preliminary treaty was signed November 30, 1782.

THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS, YORKTOWN, VA., OCT. 19, 1781

The final treaty was made in 1783. Its terms were very favorable to America. 1. American independence was recognized. 2. The boundaries of the United States were fixed at the Great Lakes and Canada on the north, the Mississippi on the west, and Florida on the south, at 31° north latitude. 3. America was to have fishing rights on the banks of Newfoundland. 4. The Mississippi was to be open to both nations. 5. Congress was to recommend to the states that their laws should permit the collection of the debts due to British merchants in America and that the property which had been taken from the Tories should be restored.[1]

[1] The last provision was only a recommendation of the treaty and it was not

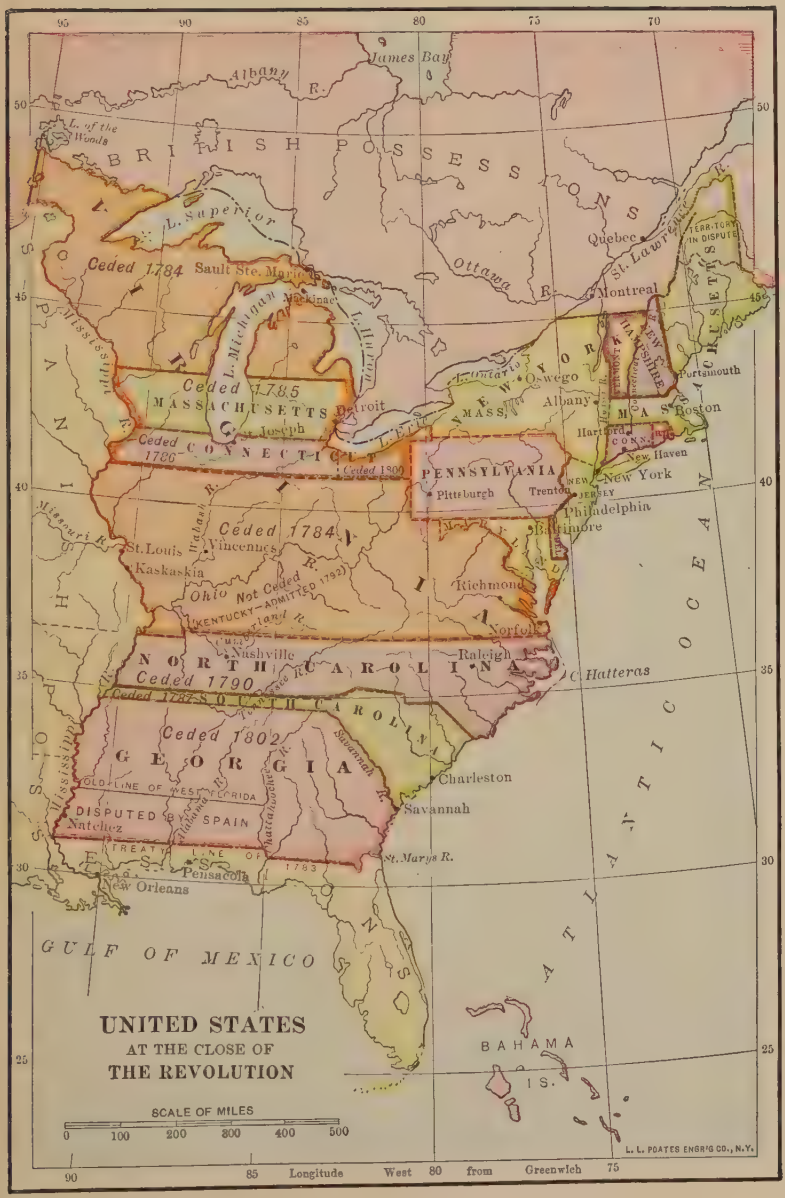
The Army Disbands: Washington Retires to Mt. Vernon. In the closing days of the war Washington gave renewed evidence of his great and noble spirit. After Cornwallis's surrender he had led the army to Newburgh on the Hudson, to await the coming peace. The army had been neglected. The soldiers were unpaid and were about to be dismissed to their homes, many of them in want and destitution, with the memory of their victories and their scars as their reward. While the army was feeling the injustice and ingratitude of this treatment a paper was distributed known as the "Newburgh Address," urging the soldiers not to disband until they had forced payment for their claims. Washington appealed to his officers to remember the liberty of their country and the honor of the service, and to have confidence in their government. He promised to try to get fair pay for the soldiers. Washington himself had served without pay, receiving only his necessary expenses,[1] and when he spoke of his growing both blind and gray in the service of the army his appeal touched the hearts of all. Congress voted the soldiers full pay for five years in government certificates, and with these and the gratitude of their country the Revolutionary soldiers went to their homes. Washington, resigning his command into the hands of Congress at Annapolis, went to his beautiful home at Mt. Vernon, where he said he "would rather live in quiet retirement than be the emperor of the world."

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. State the military object of the British in the war.
2. Why did the close of 1776 seem dark for the American cause? What events and influences soon tended to revive and encourage the Americans? Explain the generalship of Washington and the influence of Paine and his *Crisis*.

carried out by the states, owing to the hatred felt toward the Tories. The Tories were harshly treated and the bitter feeling between Patriot and Tory of the Revolution continued for many long years after the war.

[1] About $70,000.


UNITED STATES
AT THE CLOSE OF
THE REVOLUTION
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
Longitude West from Greenwich
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
Ceded 1784
Ceded 1785
MASSACHUSETTS
Ceded 1786
CONNECTICUT
Ceded 1800
PENNSYLVANIA
Ceded 1784
Ceded 1790
Ceded 1802
GEORGIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
VIRGINIA
NEW YORK
DISPUTED BY SPAIN
TERRITORY IN DISPUTE
Sault Ste. Marie
Mackinac
Detroit
St. Joseph
Pittsburgh
Philadelphia
Baltimore
Trenton
New York
New Haven
Hartford
Portsmouth
Boston
Albany
Oswego
Montreal
Quebec
Richmond
Norfolk
Raleigh
Nashville
Yincennes
St. Louis
Kaskaskia
Natchez
Pensacola
New Orleans
Charleston
Savannah
St. Marys R.
C. Hatteras
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BAHAMA IS.
L. Superior
L. Michigan
L. Huron
Ohio R.
Mississippi R.
Missouri R.
Kentucky R.
Cumberland R.
Tennessee R.
Savannah R.
Albany R.
James Bay
L. of the Woods
St. Lawrence R.
Ottawa R.
Hudson R.
Delaware R.
Potomac R.
Susquehanna R.
Connecticut R.
Kennebec R.
Androscoggin R.
Merrimack R.
Piscataqua R.
Kanawha R.
Alabama R.
Tombigbee R.
Kentucky—Admitted 1793
Not Ceded
Line of 1783
Old Line of West Florida
L. L. POATES ENGR'G CO., N.Y.

3. What was the purpose of Burgoyne's invasion? Explain the plan of it. Review the events that led to Burgoyne's defeat and surrender. Why may this surrender be called "a turning-point" in the war?
4. Explain how France aided America. Why did she do this? What was Spain's attitude toward the United States during the war?
5. What noted Poles fought for America? Make a list of the foreign soldiers who fought on the American side and indicate the nationality of each.
6. Trace on the map the principal battle-fields in the South and the line of Greene's retreat. State the result of the southern campaign.
7. Explain how the West was secured for the United States and show the importance of the work of George Rogers Clark.
8. Give an account of Cornwallis's defeat and surrender at Yorktown. Results.
9. Describe the negotiations for peace and state the terms of the Treaty. Who made the treaty for America? Why did they violate their instructions and not inform France of what they were doing?
10. What was the feeling in America toward the Tories? How do you account for this?
11. How did Washington show his patriotism at the end of the war?
12. Map Study: Locate Ticonderoga, Cowpens, Yorktown, Saratoga, Valley Forge, Bennington, Ft. Stanwix, Brandywine Creek, King's Mountain, Bunker Hill, Lexington, West Point, Ft. Moultrie, Stony Point, Trenton, Germantown. Tell something of each of these places.

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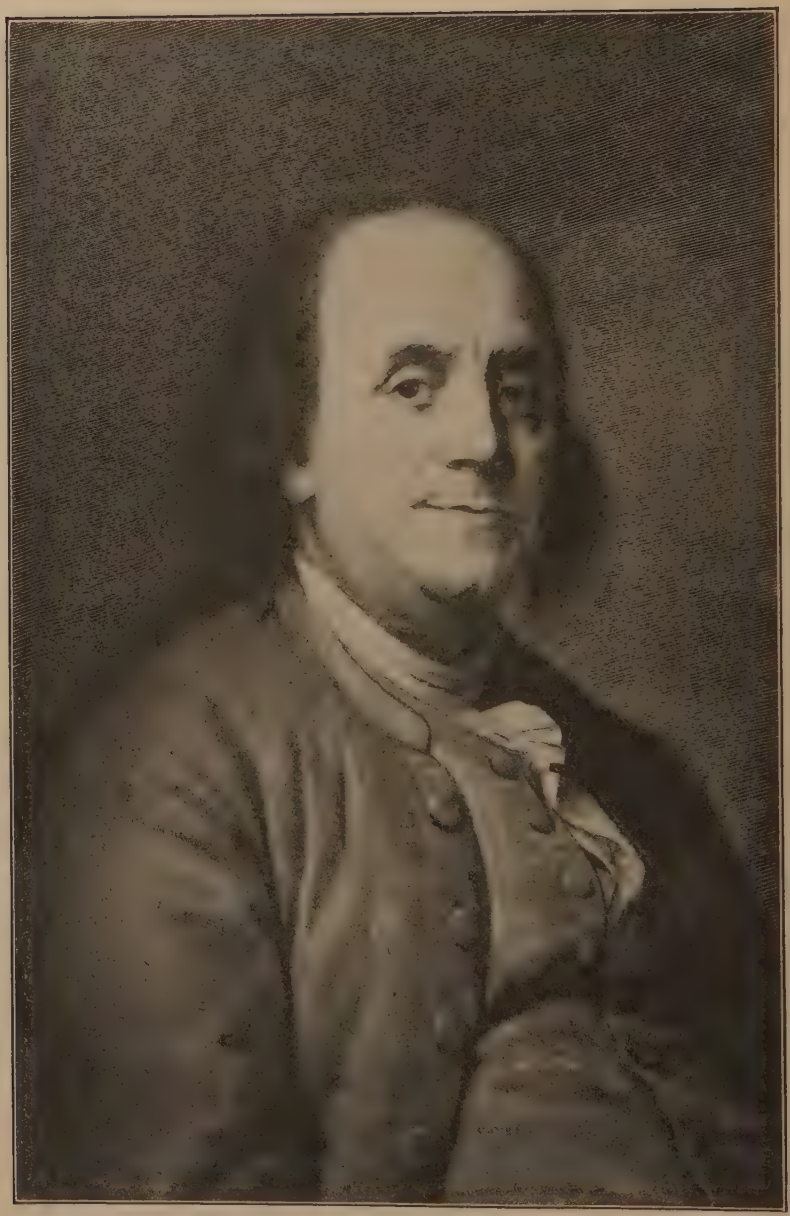
LITERATURE

1. Cooper's "Pilot."
2. Bryant's "Song of Marion's Men."
3. Bryant's "Battle of Bennington."
4. Churchill's "Richard Carvel."



Benjamin Franklin

CHAPTER XI

THE OLD CONFEDERATION AND ITS FAILURE, 1781–1789: HOW THE UNION GREW

A Study in History and Government

The Struggle for a Government. The Revolutionary War was over. The people of the states, having united for the struggle, had defended their rights and won their independence. Could they now govern themselves? Now that the danger from abroad was removed, would the states fall apart? Would they become so jealous and distrustful of one another as to be unable to live together in peace? Could they preserve order, protect property, care for their trade, and continue to defend themselves from foreign foes? These were the questions the people now had to face. The next great task for the men of the Revolution was to form a government strong enough to maintain order, prevent disunion, provide for their common defense, and secure for their children the blessings of the liberty which they had won.

The story we now have to tell is about the *struggle for a government.* It was a "critical period," a time in which the people came through trials almost as hard as during the eight years of war. In the story of this period and its struggle, certain important things are to be kept in mind. Let us first notice, partly in the way of review, how the Union began.

The Beginnings of the Union. The only union of the colonies during the war was in the Continental Congress, which led the states through the Revolution and stood for their united endeavors. This Continental Congress is not to be thought of as a *governing* body. It was an *advising* body. It was only a "revolutionary government." That is, there was no law for

calling it together, no written document telling what it could do, or what powers it could exercise. It discussed affairs and decided what ought to be done, but it had no power to carry out its decisions. It was the best means the colonies had of acting together in matters relating to foreign affairs and the war, and the people were wise and patriotic enough to follow its leadership. They knew it could tell better what ought to be done than could the legislature of any single colony. Only in this way could they present a united front to the enemy.

The Causes of the Union. We know that the colonies had a common foe, common dangers, and common interests, and that these led them to unite and do in most things as the Continental Congress advised. They felt that they must unite or they would be defeated. They believed that if they were defeated some of the colonists might be hanged as rebels. So it was to their interest to act together.

There were other influences which made it natural for them to unite. The colonists were mainly Englishmen. They were of the same race, and spoke the same language. They were mostly of the same religion, and their governments were much alike; they claimed the same rights, and they had, for the most part, the same political ideas and institutions. So it was but natural, when they came to face the same dangers, that their leading representatives should meet and act together in Congress, and that the people in the states should be guided by the advice of these leaders.

The People were Governed by the States. While the Continental Congress merely *advised* the states, and could not make laws, nor collect taxes, nor control the people, yet we must not think that the people were without government during this time. They believed in law and order and good government. They elected legislatures; they made laws and obeyed them; they had taxes to pay; they had officers and civil courts set over the people, to guard property and protect civil rights. But all these things were attended to within the states, as they had been within the colonies before independence. The people did not think of look-

ing to the Continental Congress for government; they looked to their own states. The Congress advised the people to form new state governments and they proceeded to do this. Between 1776 and 1781 all the states (having ceased to be colonies) adopted new constitutions, except Rhode Island and Connecticut, which retained the charters they had had as colonies, Connecticut till 1818, and Rhode Island till 1842.[1]

Fundamental Provisions of the State Constitutions. Each of these state constitutions formed during the Revolutionary War provided for the following:

1. A Representative Government[2] in three departments, — Legislative, Executive, and Judicial.

2. A "Bill of Rights," guaranteeing civil liberty, — that is, free speech, free press, the right of public meeting, fair trial by jury, protection to life and property, freedom from arbitrary arrest and from cruel punishments.

3. A legislature of two houses, except in Pennsylvania and Georgia, where there was only one house. The principal powers of the states were placed in the legislature, and, usually, the governor and other officers, as well as the judges, were elected by it. Officers elected by the people generally had short terms.

4. All these state constitutions provided modes of amendment. It was recognized that the supreme power of making, or amending, a constitution was in the people of the state. The supreme power had passed from the king and Parliament to the people organized into states.

Thus, as we should remember, the states had set up complete

[1] These new state governments began, usually, as "Provincial Congresses." As early as October, 1774, the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, which was elected by the people, broke off relations with Governor Gage, the royal governor, and organized itself as a Provincial Congress. A Committee of Safety was formed. The people began to disregard the authority of the Royal Governor and his Council and to do as they were told by the Provincial Congress or the Committee of Safety. This was the forerunner of state government, or the connecting link between the old colonial assembly and the new state legislature.

[2] A representative government is one conducted by persons elected to represent the people. For the beginnings of such a government in America, see p. 53.

state governments, each for itself, independent of one another, nearly four years before they agreed upon any terms of union, and fully ten years before the Constitution of the United States was made. This will help us to see that the states made the Union and that the Union did not make the states.

How the Confederation was Formed. While all this state-making was going on, Congress was discussing and urging a plan of union. It felt that union and independence should go together, that one depended on the other. On June 12, 1776, the very day that a committee of the Continental Congress was appointed to draft a Declaration of Independence, another committee was appointed to draw up "Articles of Union." This committee, consisting of one member from each state, reported the Articles of Confederation on July 12, 1776. They were not to go into operation until every state had consented to the plan, and this was not done until March 1, 1781.

Reasons for Delay in Forming the Union: Western Lands. Why were the states so slow in forming the Union? There were several reasons. In the first place, the states wanted to be independent even of one another. They were jealous for their rights and liberties. They did not wish to give up any of the powers that they had exercised all through colonial times. But the chief cause that delayed the Union was the dispute over the western lands. Some states claimed that their western boundaries extended to the Mississippi. The small states, like New Jersey and Maryland, had no such claims. These states argued that the unsettled lands in the West should be owned by the United States, and that these lands should be sold to settlers, the money to be used to pay the debts of the war. The Articles of Confederation made no provision for this, and Maryland stood firm and refused to ratify them until all the states that claimed lands promised to give them to the United States. We owe Maryland a great debt of gratitude for this, because the control of this western territory by Congress has been an important influence in promoting union and nationality. In order to induce

the claiming states to give up their lands Congress passed a famous resolution (October, 1780), promising that these lands "should be disposed of for the common benefit of the United States and be settled and formed into states and become members of the Union with the same rights as the other states." Here was the beginning of our national policy in the making of new states.

The Articles of Confederation: Important Defects. As soon as the western lands were promised to the general government and Maryland had ratified the "Articles of Confederation," they went into operation, but they were so defective that only a very weak union could exist under them. Let us notice some of their defects and some of the disorders that existed in this period.

1. There was no President to execute the laws. 2. There was no Supreme Court to judge the laws. 3. There was no Senate to help make the laws. The fact was, Congress was not given power to make any laws. It could make war and peace, enter into treaties with foreign powers, coin money and borrow money; but it could not make or enforce any laws. Congress consisted of a single House.[1] The states were supreme. "Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power not delegated to Congress."

Lack of Powers. Some of the most necessary powers were not "delegated" to Congress:

Congress had no Power to Raise Money. It could not collect a dollar by taxation. All it could do was to *request* the states to pay their share in meeting expenses. The states did as they pleased about paying and they usually chose not to pay what was asked for. So Congress could not pay its debts. Even the soldiers could not be paid for their patriotic services. Foreign

[1] A state could send from two to seven delegates, but each state had only one vote. Nine states were required to carry important measures. When only ten states were present, as often happened, two states could defeat a measure. So the minority could control the majority, or prevent an action. These delegates were elected by the states, were paid by the states, and could be recalled by the states; and they could serve only three years at a time.

nations refused longer to trust the United States and the credit of the country was nearly ruined. The "continental money" was now entirely worthless.

Congress had no Power to Regulate Commerce. If Congress could have regulated commerce it could have raised money by import duties. But the states regulated their own trade with foreign countries and among themselves. They were beginning to take advantage of one another and to become rivals. Duties were levied on goods carried from state to state. New York taxed garden truck and dairy products coming from New Jersey, and firewood from Connecticut. These states tried to retaliate, and New Jersey taxed a New York lighthouse on the Jersey shore eighteen hundred dollars a year. New Jersey had objected to the Confederation in the first place because the control of commerce had been left with the states. Madison compared that state to "a cask tapped at both ends," and North Carolina to "a patient bleeding at both arms." These two states had no good seaports. The imports their people used were brought in at the ports of other states and the tariff tax their people paid went into the treasuries of other states. So they wanted Congress to regulate commerce for all the states alike. Then the states could be protected from the trade laws of other countries. Thirteen independent legislatures could not act together to secure better terms for trading with foreign nations.

Congress did not have Power to Prevent the States from Issuing Paper Money. All kinds of paper money were issued by the states, much of it of no value. As a result, trade was greatly hindered at home.

Congress could not Enforce Treaties. Since Congress could not enforce laws it could not carry out the treaties that it had made with other countries. In 1783 we had agreed with Great Britain that all debts due British merchants might be recovered by law and that the states should be asked to pay for the property that had been taken away from the Tories. But the states made laws preventing the collection of these debts and they also refused

to pay the Tories. So Great Britain accused the United States of violating the treaty and said she had a right to hold the western posts which she had agreed to give up. Congress could do nothing.[1]

The Soldiers' Mutiny and Shays's Rebellion. A final defect in the Confederation was that Congress had no power to preserve order. This is the most important duty of a government. While the army of the Revolution was disbanding some half-drunken soldiers broke out in mutiny. They marched to Philadelphia, threw stones at the place where Congress was meeting, and threatened to seize the members or to break into the bank for their pay. It was a disgraceful insult, but Congress could do nothing to protect itself from violence. After a fruitless appeal to the state of Pennsylvania it fled to Princeton, New Jersey, where it could continue its sessions in peace and safety.[2]

The times were becoming hard. The people were importing more goods than they were exporting. The result was that the gold and silver money was being taken from the country to pay for goods bought abroad. This increased the demand in some of the states for paper money. Farm lands, cattle, and products were taken for taxes, mortgages were foreclosed, and sometimes men were thrown into prison for debt. Riots and disorders occurred in various parts of the country. In western Massachusetts nearly two thousand farmers arose in insurrection under Daniel Shays, a captain in the Revolutionary War. They sought to close the court-house and to stop suits against debtors, and they attacked the arsenal at Springfield. The state militia was called out and after a few months the insurrection was suppressed (1786-1787).

More Power for Congress. The general government had no power to aid Massachusetts to put down this disorder. It was

[1] The principal western posts that the British troops continued to hold were Oswego, Niagara, Erie, Detroit, and Mackinaw.

[2] This was one of the principal reasons why, under the new Constitution, Congress was given exclusive control over its place of meeting.

seen that an insurrection might become too powerful for a single state to cope with. Congress must have more power. At any rate, it must be given power to tax the people, regulate commerce, and keep order. Washington, Hamilton, Madison, and other leading men were writing to one another about these things. Washington said, "we act like one nation to-day and thirteen to-morrow." The states had formed a "league of friendship," but they had not formed a national government, with power to govern. Things were going from bad to worse. The Union was becoming "a rope of sand," and it could not have lasted much longer under the Confederation. There was only a band of states, loosely united, not a nation. The states had in them *the making of a nation*. They were one people in many ways, but they had not yet become a real nation nor formed a national government. More unity, a better constitution, and a *central government with power*, these were the needs for the growth of the nation.

The Ordinance of 1787. The Congress of the Confederation, weak as it was, passed one of the most important measures in our history. This was the famous Ordinance of 1787. It was an act, passed on July 13, 1787, to provide civil government for the Northwest Territory.[1] It provided: (1) that slavery should be forever excluded from the territory; (2) that "schools and the means of education should be forever encouraged"; (3) that no one who behaved himself should ever be "molested on account of his mode of worship or religious belief"; (4) that a "bill of rights" granting civil liberty to the citizens should be guaranteed. These great provisions for free soil, free schools, a free church, and free men made the Ordinance justly famous, and they helped to induce settlers to buy land and to build free states in the new territory.

[1] The Northwest Territory was the country north of the Ohio River, east of the Mississippi, west of New York and Pennsylvania, and south of the British possessions, now composing the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Why was the period of the "Old Confederation" a "critical period"?
2. What influences led to the formation of the Union? What influences opposed?
3. Describe the Continental Congress and the state governments during the Revolution.
4. Tell why New Jersey objected to the Articles of Confederation and show that her objection was a good one.
5. State Maryland's objection and explain her services in the formation of the Union.
6. Make a list of the defects of the Confederation. How was it like a "rope of sand"? Show that the states were more important than the general government.
7. What promise did Congress make with reference to the western lands? Tell why this promise was made and explain its importance in the growth of the Union.
8. State the cause and the effect of Shays's Rebellion.
9. Did the states make the Union, or the Union make the states? Give reasons for your answer.

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CHAPTER XII

MAKING THE CONSTITUTION

THE failure of the Confederation made the leaders of the people desire to have delegates from the different states meet

INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA

In this hall the Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence, and here also the Constitutional Convention met in the summer of 1787.

together to arrange a better plan of union.[1] Congress consented to call such a convention, to meet in Philadelphia in May, 1787.

[1] A convention met at Annapolis in September, 1786, in which five states were represented, to consider certain disputes about trade. Madison and Hamilton were there and they saw that the convention had too little power to do anything of importance. So they persuaded the members to ask Congress to call another convention of all the states, with power "to satisfy the needs of the Union."

This was the most important convention that ever assembled in America. All the states were represented except Rhode Island. America's ablest men were there. Washington became president of the convention, and from May to September these statesmen discussed the kind of a government they thought the Union ought to have. The outcome of their labors was our present Constitution.

Madison, "The Father of the Constitution." James Madison, of Virginia, who was afterwards President, has been called the "Father of the Constitution," because he did more than any other man to bring this convention about, and no one had a more important part in its proceedings. Besides, it is to Madison that we are indebted for the best account of the convention and its work.[1] The debates were held in secret, and each state had one vote in deciding questions, as under the Confederation.

Franklin "The Sage of the Convention." The convention had many conflicts and hot debates, and several times it seemed as though it would break up without doing anything. Dr. Franklin, then eighty-one years of age, was a member from Pennsylvania, and by his wit and wisdom and good humor he did much to keep the peace between the contending factions. He told the members that they were sent there to *consult* not to *contend*, and that declaring a fixed opinion in a stubborn determination never to change it would neither enlighten nor convince any one. At one time he asked that the convention be opened with prayer, reminding the members that in the contest with Great Britain "we had daily prayer in this room for Divine protection." "I have lived, sir,

[1] Madison came to this convention determined to keep a record of its debates. He got a seat near the center of the hall, took notes of what the members said, and sat up at night to write out these notes. It cost him a lot of hard work, but in this way Madison preserved a "Journal of the Convention." Fifty years later, in 1836, when Madison died, his widow, Dolly Madison, wrote to President Jackson calling attention to this "Journal," which her husband had left to her in his will. President Jackson secured $30,000 from Congress and bought the "Journal" and other "Madison Papers." It was then published, and it is one of the most important books on American history. It tells how the great Convention carried on its work, and what the members said.

a long time," said Franklin, "and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, — *that God governs in the affairs of men.* And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable an empire can rise without his aid?" Franklin earnestly urged the members to agree by each side giving up something to the other. "When a broad table is to be made," he said, "and the edges of the planks do not fit, the artist takes a little from both and makes a good joint. In like manner both sides here must part from some of their demands in order to make a good union." No doubt the members were greatly influenced by the spirit of Franklin. It was such wisdom and patriotism that made the Union possible; it was such a spirit of mutual concession and compromise that held the convention together and enabled it to make the Constitution.

Shall a National Government be Formed? Through all the debates there was a contest between the *national* idea and the *federal* idea, between those who wanted to form a national government and those who wanted to retain a government like the Confederation, in which the states were supreme. All agreed that more power must be given to Congress; but the men from the small states insisted that this could be done without changing the character of the government. They agreed that Congress should regulate commerce and lay a duty on imports; but they wanted to make the central government dependent upon the states. The convention was called only to amend the Articles of the Confederation, but it took a bold step and decided to throw these aside and to ask the people to adopt a new government with real powers of its own. Some were fearful that the people would not approve their work, but Washington said that instead of trying to please the people the delegates should go ahead, raise the proper standard, and do their best to make a government that they themselves could approve. He believed the people would adopt what seemed best for the country, and the result showed that Washington was right.

The Compromises of the Constitution. Almost every conclu-

sion reached was the result of the spirit of meeting one another half way. For this reason the Constitution has been called a "series of compromises." Three important compromises deserve notice:

1. The first was between the large states and the small states. Two main "Plans" were submitted to the convention, the "Virginia Plan," favored by the large states, and the "New Jersey Plan," favored by the small states. The "Virginia Plan" proposed a *national* government, with two houses of Congress and *proportional* representation. The "New Jersey Plan" proposed a *confederate* government, with one house of Congress and *equal* representation for the states. If votes were to be given to the states in proportion to their population or their wealth, the largest state would have sixteen times as much power as the smallest. The small states were afraid of losing their independence under such a plan. So they insisted upon having an equal share of power, such as they had under the Confederation. The result was the "Connecticut compromise," proposed by the delegates from that state, which provided that there should be proportional representation in one house of Congress and equal representation in the other. In the Senate, the states are represented equally, each state having two votes. So the Senate represents the *confederate* idea, while the House of Representatives stands for the *national* idea, in which the people rather than the states are represented.

2. The second compromise was between the slave states and the free states. In counting the people to find out how many representatives each state should have the southern states wished all the slaves included. The northern states said that none of them ought to be counted, any more than northern property, like horses and cattle. The North was willing to count the slaves for taxes, but not for representatives. The South took exactly the opposite view. So it was agreed that "taxation and representation should go together" in the Constitution as they had gone together in the Revolution, and that in allotting repre-

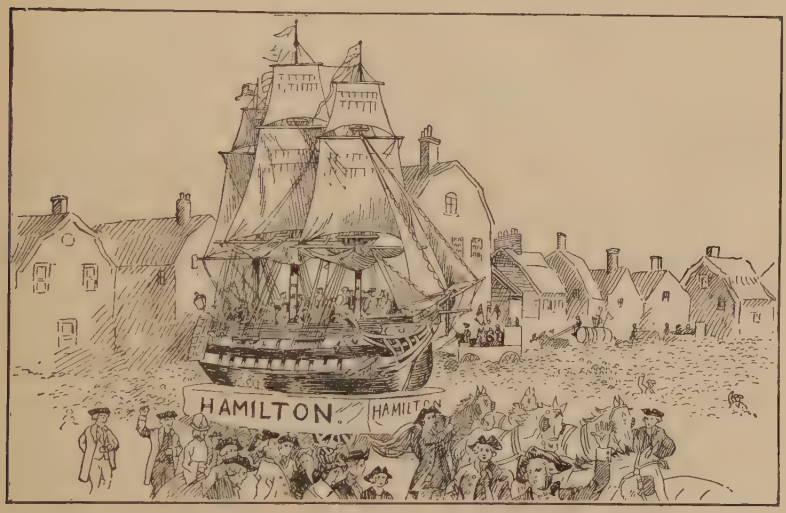
sentatives and direct taxes three fifths of the slaves should be counted.

3. The third great compromise was over the slave trade and the regulation of commerce. Most of the states, both north and south, wanted the slave trade abolished; but Georgia and South Carolina said that if this were done they would not come into the Union. The New England states wanted Congress to have full power over commerce. A bargain was made on these two subjects. The North agreed that the slave trade should be permitted to continue for twenty years (till 1808) and the plantation slave states consented that Congress might regulate commerce by a majority vote, but that no duties should ever be laid on exports.

Ratifying the Constitution. After the convention had finished its work and the members had signed the Constitution it was referred to the states for their approval.[1] As soon as nine states should ratify it, the Constitution was to go into operation for these states. State conventions were called to consider the Constitution. The people were not well informed as to what they were asked to adopt, owing to the secret sessions of the convention. Hamilton, Madison, and Jay wrote articles for the newspapers, explaining and defending the Constitution. These articles are now collected together in a book called *The Federalist*, and it is one of the best works ever written on the Constitution

[1] Some of the members disliked the completed Constitution so much that they refused to sign it or to recommend it to the people. In the last hours of the Convention Dr. Franklin referred again to the obstinate habit of never giving up in a dispute, and he mentioned a "certain French lady who, in a dispute with her sister, said, 'I don't know how it happens, sister, but I meet with nobody but myself that is always in the right.'" Mr. Madison relates that while the last members were signing, Dr. Franklin, looking towards the President's chair, at the back of which a rising sun happened to be painted, observed to a few members near him, that painters had found it difficult to distinguish in their art a rising from a setting sun. "I have," said he, "often and often, in the course of the sessions, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the President, without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun."

and the science of government. Most of the small states accepted the Constitution quite readily, but in some of the large states, like Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia, there were hard contests. Hamilton defended the Constitution in New York, Madison and Marshall in Virginia, while some of the best known men in the country, like Patrick Henry, James Monroe, and George Clinton, opposed the Constitution. The opponents objected, they said, because the old Confederation had been aban-



CELEBRATING THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION IN NEW YORK

doned instead of being merely amended; because there was no "bill of rights," or the President might become a king, or the government too strong, or the rights of the states might be destroyed. Finally, all objections were overcome, and by the middle of 1788 eleven states had ratified and the new government was assured.[1]

There was great rejoicing among the friends of the Constitution. The 4th of July, 1788, was celebrated with bonfires and

[1] North Carolina did not ratify till 1789, nor Rhode Island till 1790. New Hampshire was the ninth state to ratify, June 21, 1788.

processions. In New York there was a parade, and a great float representing the "Ship of State" was drawn through the crowded streets amid loud huzzas for Washington, Hamilton, and the other statesmen who had helped on in the great work. The first experiment at union had failed and a new experiment was now to be tried. The "Old Confederation" had gone down, but the people had hopes that a stronger and nobler Union had arisen to take its place. They were launching *The Constitution*, a new *Ship of State*, for her trial trip.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Tell how and why the Constitutional Convention of 1787 was called to meet.
2. Illustrate the meaning of "compromise" and describe the three principal compromises of the Constitutional Convention.
3. Tell how the Constitution was finally adopted. Why was it opposed? What were the arguments in favor of it?

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

1. A. C. McLaughlin, "The Confederation and the Constitution," 201–220 (Shall the Confederation be patched up?); 221–235 (The Great Compromise); 277–297 (The Constitution Before the People).
2. John Fiske, "The Critical Period of American History," 340–344 (Origin of the *Federalist*).
3. F. A. Walker, "The Making of the Nation," 21-40 (The Issues of the Convention).

CHAPTER XIII

THE NEW GOVERNMENT

How the Constitution Remedied the Defects of the Confederation. The Constitution was made to remedy the weakness of the Confederation. Let us see how this was done.

1. Three departments of government were created instead of one, — a Legislature to make the laws, an Executive (the President) to enforce the laws, and a Judiciary (that is, the courts) to interpret the laws.

2. The powers needed for a real government were given to Congress. (*a*) To raise money by taxation. (*b*) To make uniform commercial regulations and to lay import duties. (*c*) To enforce its own laws. The United States was now to have courts and law-enforcing officers.

3. Certain powers were taken away from the states: to coin money; to make anything but gold and silver coin a legal tender in payment of debt; to lay import duties; to pass laws violating contracts — these powers were no longer to be exercised by the states. All other powers not given to Congress were left to the states.

The Constitution the Supreme Law of the Land. The most important change came in making the law of the Union supreme over the laws of the state. The Constitution, and the laws and treaties made in harmony with it, were declared to be the "supreme law of the land." The laws of the state were now to be in harmony with the laws of the United States. If a state adopts a constitution, or passes an act, contrary to the Constitution or laws of the United States, the courts declare it null and void. It is no law at all and no one is bound by it. And if the citizens of

THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Senators and Representatives meet in this building and the inauguration ceremonies are held on its steps.

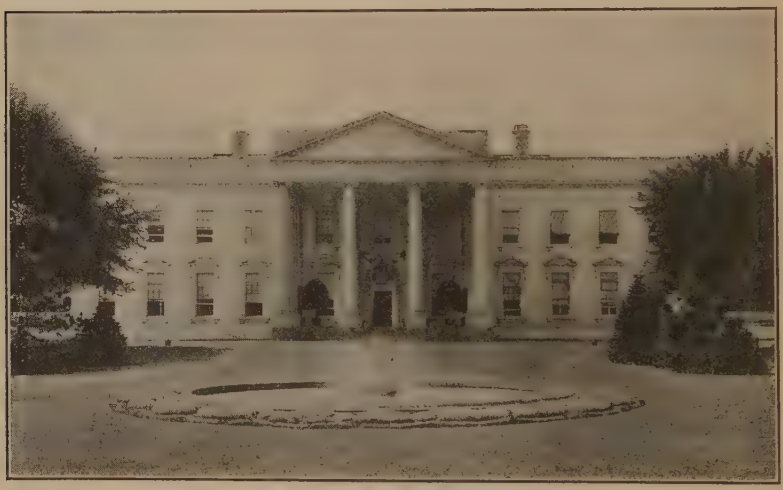
a state attempt to resist the laws of the United States, the national government proceeds against them as citizens in insurrection. This could not have been done under the Confederation. Only the state could act upon the citizens directly and call out force to control them. When the Constitution was adopted the people became citizens of the United States as well as of the states, and they had to obey United States laws. This was a great change and it was very important in promoting the growth of the nation. The laws of the states were still to govern in all things that belong to the states; but the laws of the United States were to be supreme in all things that belong to the nation.

The President

Powers and Duties of the President. The office of President, as we have seen, was created by the new Constitution of 1787. It is his duty to see that the laws are executed. He does this through those whom he appoints to office — marshals, judges, postmasters, revenue officers, prosecuting attorneys. If they do not do their duty he can remove them. He appoints agents to make treaties, though they are not binding until approved by the Senate; he receives ambassadors from foreign countries; and, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, he has power to call out the militia and appoint and remove military and naval officers. So he controls the soldiers and sailors. He appoints men to office only with the consent of the Senate, but he may remove them without that consent.

How a Bill Becomes a Law: The Veto Power. The President has also legislative power. He may call Congress to meet and advise it what to do. If Congress passes a bill which the President thinks is not right he may veto it. *Veto* means, "I forbid." So he may forbid a bill to become a law. Congress may pass a bill over the President's veto by a two-thirds majority of each house. In order to have a law passed, a bill is introduced by a member into one of the houses of Congress. It is then referred

to the proper committee and is discussed there. If the committee is in favor of it, the bill will be reported to the house for passage. If the bill passes both houses and is signed by the President it becomes a law. But if the President disapproves of the bill he may veto it, and then it will be sent back to the house in which it originated, together with the President's objections. If each house votes by a two-thirds majority again to pass the bill it becomes a law in spite of the President's veto. If the Pres-



THE WHITE HOUSE, FRONT VIEW
Home of the President in Washington.

ident neither signs nor returns a bill within ten days after it is presented to him it becomes a law without his signature, unless Congress adjourns before the ten days are ended. In that case the President may defeat a bill by refusing to sign it. He may keep it in his desk, or in his pocket, and say nothing about it. This is called a "pocket veto."

Qualifications of the President. The President must be a native-born citizen of the United States, at least thirty-five years of age, and he must have been for fourteen years a resident within the United States. This is to make sure that the President will

be more interested in his own country than in any other, and that he may know what its interests are.

How the President is Elected. The convention of 1787 had a hard time in deciding how the President should be elected. A great many ways were proposed. It was thought best not to have him elected by Congress, because that body would then be able to control him, and it was thought wise to keep the three departments of the government separate and independent of one another. So it was finally decided to have each state appoint Electors in any manner its legislature might choose, these Electors to meet in their state capitals and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President.

The Electoral College. All these Electors taken together are called the *Electoral College*. Each state chooses as many Electors as it has senators and representatives in Congress. Congress determines the time for choosing the Electors and also the time for their meeting to choose the President. The people vote for the Electors every fourth year on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November; when they vote for Electors they really choose the President. The Electors meet to elect the President on the second Monday in January, and the two houses meet together to count the electoral votes on the second Wednesday in February.

The Electors Must Vote for their Party Candidate. The Electors do not really choose the President. He has already been chosen by the people before the Electors meet. But the framers of the Constitution expected the Electors to do the choosing. They did not think the people were competent to elect the President. It was thought the people would not know the leading men of the country outside of their own states. One member of the convention said that the people would be the "dupes of demagogues," while another said it would be like "referring the choice of colors to a blind man" to let the people choose. Their plan was to let the states select a set of men wiser than the people, who should meet together and elect for President the man *they* thought

most fit. Very soon the people insisted upon nominating a man for whom the Electors should vote, and ever since Washington's administration (1796) the Electors have been expected to vote for the candidate of their party. The Constitution does not require them to do so, but if they did not they would be guilty of treason to their party and everybody would condemn them. This is usage, or custom, and is as binding as a law. It may be called an unwritten law.

How the President may be Removed. The President is removable by impeachment. He may be charged with "high crimes and misdemeanors," of violating the Constitution or the law. The charges are brought by the House, the Senate tries the case, the Chief Justice presides, and it requires a two-thirds vote to convict. If the President is found guilty of the charges brought against him, he may be removed from office and disqualified from again holding office under the United States.

The Vice-President. The President's office may become vacant by death or disability, by impeachment, or by resignation. The Vice-President would then succeed to the office. He is elected at the same time and by the same method, and must have the same qualifications as the President. The Vice-President is also the presiding officer of the Senate, but he does not appoint the committees, as the Speaker does in the House. The Senate elects its own committees.

The President's Cabinet. The men who made the Constitution expected that there would be several divisions of the President's work, — one for foreign affairs, one for money matters, one for war, etc. Each of these divisions, or departments, was to have a head. The heads of the departments make up the Cabinet. They are also the official advisers of the President. They meet with him and discuss affairs of state and give their opinions as to what ought to be done. The Constitution does not create the Cabinet. It merely says that the President "may require the opinion in writing of the principal officer in each department," concerning the duties of that department. The

President is not bound to have the heads of departments meet together, nor is he bound to act according to their opinions. They are his subordinates and he can act on his own judgment or choose his own policy without reference to their decisions. He might invite the Vice-President to sit in his Cabinet if he chose. If a member of the Cabinet is not in harmony with the President's policy for his department, it is his duty to resign, or the President may remove him. The following heads of departments now constitute the Cabinet. The date of creation of each department is indicated.

The Secretary of State (1789).
The Secretary of the Treasury (1789).
The Secretary of War (1789).
The Secretary of the Navy (1798).
The Postmaster-General (1829).
The Secretary of the Interior (1849).
The Attorney-General [1] (1870).
The Secretary of Agriculture (1889).
The Secretary of Commerce and Labor (1903).

The Senate

How the Senate is Composed. The Senate was also created by the convention of 1787. It consists of two members from each state, who are elected by the legislatures of the states for a term of six years. Each senator has one vote and the Constitution promises that no state shall ever be deprived of its equal vote in the Senate except by its own consent.

The Senate a Check against Hasty Legislation. The term of office of one third of the senators expires every two years, while two thirds of them continue for the next Congress. This makes it a continuous or permanent body, more steady and stable. It is not subject to rapid changes of opinion, and it was established partly to provide a check against hasty legislation.

[1] The Attorney-General was one of the advisers of the first President, but the Department of Justice, of which he is the head, was not created till 1870.

Qualifications of the Senator. A senator is required to be thirty years of age, to have been nine years a citizen of the United States, and to be at the time of his election an inhabitant of the state from which he is chosen. He is regarded as a state officer and he can hold no office under the United States while he is a senator.

Vacancies in the Senate. If a vacancy occurs in the Senate by the death, resignation, or expulsion of a member, the governor of the state from which the member came may appoint some one to fill the place until the next meeting of the state legislature, which then elects a senator to fill out the unexpired term. If the legislature then fails to elect, the place may be left vacant, as it is then taken for granted that the state has consented to be deprived of its equal representation in the Senate.

Powers of the Senate. The Senate has three distinct classes of powers: 1. Judicial. 2. Legislative. 3. Executive.

1. The judicial power of the Senate consists in its right to sit as a court of impeachment in cases brought before it by the House.

2. The legislative power of the Senate consists in its being one of the two equal branches of the national legislature. It has as much legislative power as the House. Its consent is necessary to the passage of laws. It may not originate a revenue bill, but it may amend such a bill and thus determine its final form. Legislation is the most important power of the Senate.

3. The executive powers of the Senate are:

(*a*) To take part in the appointing power.

(*b*) To take part in the treaty-making power.

Treaties arranged by the President are not completed until confirmed in the Senate by a two-thirds vote of the senators present. The President's appointments are confirmed by a majority vote.

The Executive Session of the Senate. The Senate was created partly for the purpose of having a council to advise the President, especially about appointments and treaties. In considering

these subjects the Senate goes into *executive session.* This is a secret session. All reporters and visitors are turned out and the senators are pledged not to tell anything that is said or done. This is thought to lead to greater freedom in discussion. For a few years after 1789 all the sessions of the Senate were secret. It was thought the people could not be trusted with knowing what their representatives were doing, or that the opinions of the people would interfere too much with the action of the representatives.

The House of Representatives

How the House is made up: Who May Vote for Representatives. The House of Representatives (usually called simply *the House*) represents the people of the states in proportion to population. It is therefore called the "popular branch" of Congress. The members of the House are elected for two years by the people of the several states. The qualifications of those who vote for representatives (also for Presidential Electors) are fixed by the laws of the states. Any one may vote for Electors or for a representative in Congress if he is qualified by his state law to vote for "the most numerous branch" (*i.e.*, the lower house) of his state legislature. The states were left free to do as they pleased about fixing the qualifications for voting. The Fifteenth Amendment, adopted after the Civil War, prevents a state from depriving any one of the right to vote "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Qualifications of Representatives. Three qualifications are named for a representative: (1) He must be twenty-five years of age. (2) He must have been for seven years a citizen of the United States. (3) He must be at the time of his election a citizen of the state from which he is chosen. He is not bound to live in the district which he represents, but it is the custom to require him to do so. This is another "unwritten law."

Size of the House, Annual Meetings, Vacancies. The Constitution provides that a census shall be taken every ten years, and

after each census Congress allots to each state its share of representatives. The state lays out its own districts from which Congressmen are chosen. The first House consisted of sixty-five members allotted to the states by an agreement made in the Constitutional Convention before the first census was taken. There is now one member for about two hundred thousand of the population.

Congress is required to meet at least once a year, on the first Monday in December. Congress could by law change the time of the annual meeting. "Extra sessions" may be called by the President at any time he may think the public business demands them.

When a vacancy occurs in the House it is filled by means of a special election called by the Governor of the state concerned.

Officers of the House. The House elects its own officers. These are the Speaker, the Clerk, the Door-keeper, the Sergeant-at-arms, the Postmaster, and the Chaplain. These officers are nominated by a "caucus," or party meeting, held a few nights before the House is to be organized. The candidates named by the "caucus" of the majority party are elected; that is, the choice of the "caucus" is ratified by the House. The Clerk of the preceding House presides while the new House is being organized; that is, while it is electing its Speaker. The Clerk also makes up the roll of the House and keeps the record. The duties of the other minor officers are indicated by their titles.

The Speaker. The most important officer of the House is the Speaker. He is the leader of the party majority in the House. He does more to direct legislation than any other person. In legislative and political importance he comes next to the President. He presides over the House and he allows those members to speak who will bring up such business as he wishes to have presented. Legislation is controlled very largely by the committees of the House, and the Speaker appoints the committees. So the Speaker can make the committees favorable to the measures which he wishes to have passed and unfavorable to those which

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The House is in session and is concerned with a matter which is being explained by means of the four charts in front of the Speaker. He is standing at his post, directly under the flag.

he does not wish to have passed. The Speaker is thus able to direct almost the entire business of the House. The framers of the Constitution did not expect the Speaker to have such power, but time and custom, and the rules of the House, have brought it about. Much of his power to control the House came from his control of the Committee on Rules, which is the "steering" committee of the House. The Speaker has lately been deprived of this power.

The Powers of Congress. All the important powers of the old Confederation were given to the new Congress: to make war and peace; to enter into treaties; to coin money and regulate its value; to fix the standard of weights and measures; and to establish post-offices and post-roads. The other powers essential to an effective government were added, as we have named them, — to lay taxes, to regulate commerce, and to provide for enforcing its own laws.

War Powers. Certain important powers were provided to enable Congress to defend the country or to prosecute a vigorous war:

(1) To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal (See p. 197) and make rules concerning captures on land and sea;

(2) To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

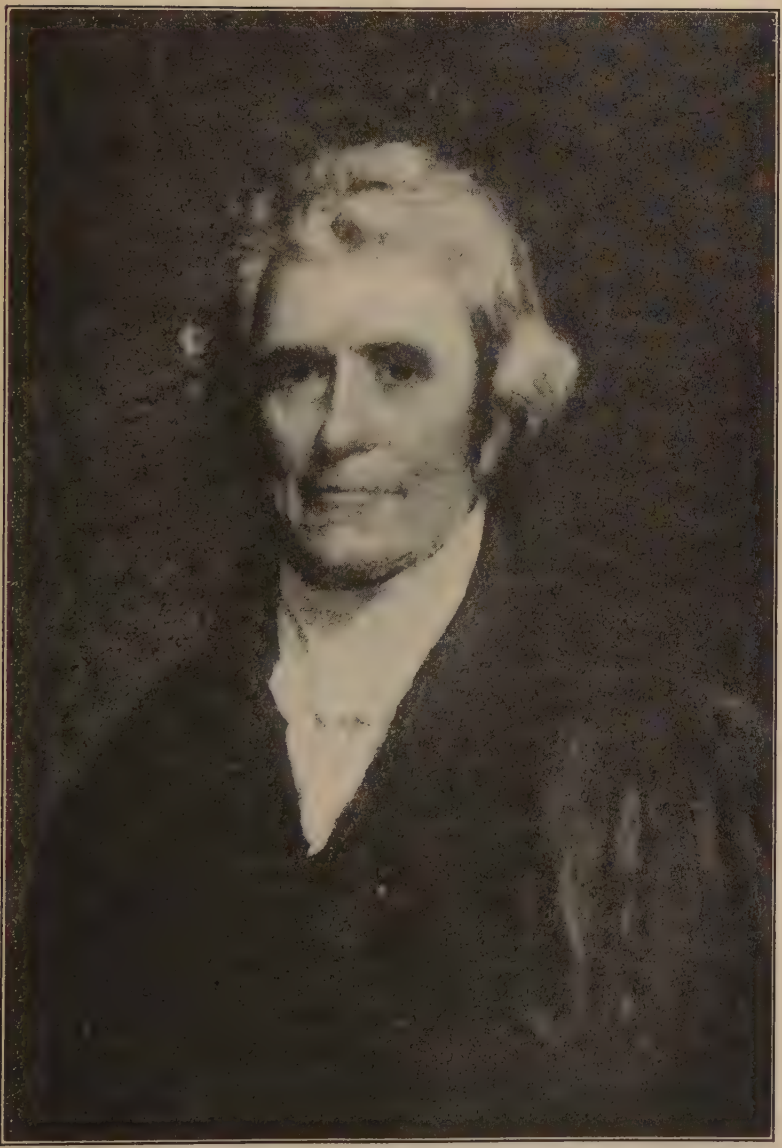
(3) To provide and maintain a navy;

(4) To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

(5) To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the United States, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

(6) To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States;

(7) To exercise exclusive legislation over all places purchased in the states for forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings.



JOHN MARSHALL, CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT FROM 1801 TO 1835

The Judiciary

The third department of the government is the Judiciary. Laws are of little value unless there are courts to explain and apply them. When the convention decided to create a new government with power to make and enforce laws, it recognized the need of courts to expound the law and try offenses. The Constitution, therefore, created the Supreme Court and authorized Congress to create lower courts, if they became necessary.

The Judges' Terms of Office: How Removed. The justices of the Supreme Court and the judges of the lower courts are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate, and they hold their offices during good behavior. They can be removed only by impeachment, and their pay cannot be diminished during their continuance in office. This is to make them independent in their decisions. It was desired that neither Congress nor the President should dictate to the judges, or control the courts. The Judiciary was to be as independent of the other departments as possible.

Extent of the Judicial Power. The judicial power extends to the following kinds of cases:

1. Those to which the Constitution and the laws of the United States apply.

2. Cases affecting ambassadors, public ministers, consuls, or the representatives of other nations in our country.

3. Cases arising on the sea, like piracy, or the capture of merchant vessels in war.

4. Cases in which the United States may be a party.

5. Cases between two or more states; between citizens of different states; between a state or its citizens and a foreign state or its citizens.

Importance of the Supreme Court. There were no United States courts under the Confederation, except for the purpose of settling disputes between the states and for international cases arising on the sea. As we read our history under the new govern-

ment we shall see how important the Supreme Court has been in making the Constitution a success; how its construction of the Constitution has done much to strengthen the Union and to save it from the same disheartening failure into which the Confederation had fallen. On account of its dignity, ability, and impartial fairness the Supreme Court has earned the respect of all nations and the confidence of all parties. It is one of the bulwarks of our system of government.

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THE SUPREME COURT

This was the Senate Chamber before 1859, the scene of the great speeches of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun.

How the Constitution may be Amended. The Constitution of the old Confederation could be amended only by the consent of every state. That made amendments almost impossible. The convention of 1787 hoped to provide an easier way of changing the Constitution, for they saw that, as time went on, changes would be necessary. They provided for amending the Constitution in two ways:

1. Congress may by a two-thirds vote of each house propose

an amendment. If this be ratified by the legislatures, or conventions, in three fourths of the states, it becomes a part of the Constitution.

2. Congress, if two thirds of the state legislatures request it, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, these to be approved by three fourths of the state legislatures or conventions. This method has never been used.

The First Ten Amendments. Many amendments were proposed in the state conventions that ratified the Constitution. The first Congress that met after the Constitution was adopted approved ten of these and they were soon ratified by the states. Since they have been a part of the Constitution from the beginning they may be fairly considered as a part of the original document. They contain chiefly a "bill of rights," guaranteeing the civil rights and liberties of the people. The state constitutions had such guarantees and it was thought best that the United States also should promise that its government would not violate these civil rights of the people. These amendments were adopted because the people of the states were afraid that their rights and powers might be infringed upon by the general government.

Would the New Government Succeed? It will be seen that the new government in the possession of such powers as had been conferred upon it, with a Congress of two houses, a President, and a Supreme Court, all working together, might become an efficient and vigorous government. But it was purely an experiment. How these powers were to work, or whether the states would resist the exercise of these powers, and seek to withdraw from the Union, — all this was to be learned only from the history that the country was now entering upon.

NOTES ON CIVIL GOVERNMENT

Miscellaneous Powers of Congress.

The Constitution gives Congress power to provide for the punishment of counterfeiting and piracy; to pass uniform bankrupt laws and laws for naturalization; to promote the progress of science and the useful arts by issuing patents and copyrights, as encouragement to authors and inventors.

Bankrupt Laws relate to the property of persons unable or unwilling to pay their debts. They provide how the debtor's property shall be distributed among his creditors, and how a debtor who is free from fraud and who has given up his property may be relieved from further legal obligations. Congress has control over this matter, if it wishes to exercise it. If Congress passes no law on the subject each state is free to enact bankruptcy laws for itself.

Naturalization is the process by which a citizen of one country becomes a citizen of another. Immigrants from foreign countries are *aliens* in America until they become naturalized, by renouncing their allegiance to any other country and swearing allegiance to the United States. Congress makes the rules for naturalizing foreigners. Before the Constitution was adopted each state did this for itself. By the present law people from other countries are required to live in the United States five years before they can become naturalized.

Letters of Marque and Reprisal are licenses, or permits, granted by the government to private persons to fit out privateers (armed ships) to cruise at sea and capture the unarmed merchant ships of the enemy. These letters authorize privateering, which is a kind of legalized piracy. Ships and cargoes captured at sea are sold and the proceeds distributed among the officers and crew of the privateer. Privateering is practiced as a means of injuring the enemy by destroying his peaceful commerce. When the Constitution was made in 1787, privateering was generally practiced, but now nearly all civilized nations have agreed that it should be abolished.

Titles of Nobility, Bills of Attainder, Ex Post Facto Laws.

The Constitution forbids either Congress or the state legislatures to grant titles of nobility, or to pass bills of attainder, or *ex post facto* laws. We do not have lords, dukes, earls, and counts in America. If any foreigner with a title of this kind wishes to become a citizen of the United States he must renounce his title and his order of nobility. No American office-holder, or representative abroad, may receive such a title from a foreign government.

A *Bill of Attainder* is a bill passed by a legislature condemning a person to death, or to punishment by loss of civil rights, without a legal trial. If a citizen is to be condemned it must be according to a law already made; no law may be passed for the purpose of punishing him.

An *Ex Post Facto Law* is one which makes a man's act a crime, and punishable, which was not a crime when it was committed, or which changes the penalty for a crime after its commission.

Habeas Corpus.

An innocent person may be charged with crime and arrested and im-

prisoned. The writ of *habeas corpus* is the means by which he obtains release from such illegal arrest and imprisonment. He applies through his agent or attorney to the judge of a court, who issues an order, or writ, ordering the sheriff, or constable, to bring the prisoner into court in order that it may be ascertained whether there is a good reason for keeping him in prison. If it appears that the prisoner has not been guilty of violating the law, the judge orders his release. In this way justice is not denied or delayed. To *suspend the writ* is to deny to an imprisoned citizen the right to have the charges against him examined into, and it might permit those in office to exercise arbitrary power and practice injustice and oppression. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* is "a guarantee of personal liberty as old as Magna Charta" (1215). The Constitution says this privilege "shall not be suspended unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it." This leaves unsettled the question whether the power of suspending the writ is to be exercised by the President or by Congress. Judicial decision has assigned the power to Congress, but during the Civil War President Lincoln suspended the writ and Congress confirmed his act.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Show how the Constitution remedied the defects of the Confederation.
2. Show the importance of making the Constitution the "supreme law of the land."
3. Give the qualifications of the President. Recite his chief powers and duties. Tell how a bill becomes a law.
4. Tell how the President and Vice-President are elected. Why must the Electors vote for their party candidate?
5. How may the President be removed? What are the principal duties of the Vice-President?
6. Of whom is the President's Cabinet composed? Name the members.
7. How many members are in the Senate? How are they elected? What qualifications are required of them? How are vacancies filled?
8. Classify and name the chief powers of the Senate. Describe its "Executive Session."
9. Explain the difference between the House of Representatives and the Senate. Who may vote for Representatives and Presidential Electors?
10. State the qualifications required of Representatives. How often do they meet? How are vacancies filled? Name the principal officers of the House and explain the powers of the Speaker.
11. Recite the principal powers of Congress.
12. Explain the importance of the Judiciary and of the Supreme Court and

state the kinds of cases to which the Judicial power of the United States extends.

13. Tell how the Constitution may be amended.
14. Explain the use of bankruptcy laws; the process of naturalization; the use of letters of marque and reprisal.
15. Define an *ex post facto* law. A bill of attainder. Explain the use of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*.

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3. Jesse Macy, "Our Government."
4. F. D. Boynton, "School Civics."
5. Strong and Schafer, "The Government of the American People."
6. Jacob Riis, "The Making of an American."
7. E. Alton (Edmund Bailey), "Among the Law Makers."
8. S. E. Forman, "Essentials in Civil Government."
9. A. L. Peterman, "Elements of Civil Government."
10. J. T. McCleary, "Studies in Civics."
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12. James and Sanford, "Government in State and Nation."
13. J. A. Woodburn, "The American Republic and its Government."

CHAPTER XIV

THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN OPERATION. THE RULE OF THE FEDERALIST PARTY, 1789–1801.

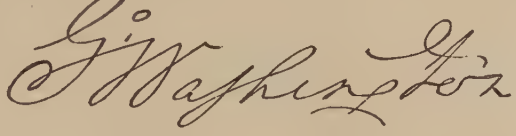
The old government was dead, but the new one was not ready to take its place. New York had been chosen as the temporary seat of the government, and it had been decided that the new Constitution should go into effect on the 4th of March, 1789. It was necessary, however, to elect a President, Vice-President, senators and representatives and to make other preparations before the new government could go into operation. All of this had not been done by the appointed time. Things moved slowly in those days. The roads were poor, water travel was slow, and the mails crept along at a snail's pace; so when the appointed time arrived, neither house of Congress had a quorum present, and the votes for President and Vice-President could not be counted as the Constitution required.

The New House of Representatives. Only a few members of the House were present on the 4th of March, but on the first of April it was found that a quorum had reached New York. The House was then called to order, a Speaker was elected, and that branch of Congress was ready for the transaction of business.

The New Senate. The senators were somewhat slower in arriving, but on the 6th of April a majority of them had reached New York. Both branches of Congress were now ready for business. The vote of the electoral college was counted (April 6) and George Washington and John Adams were officially declared elected President and Vice-President of the United States. Every elector had voted for Washington.

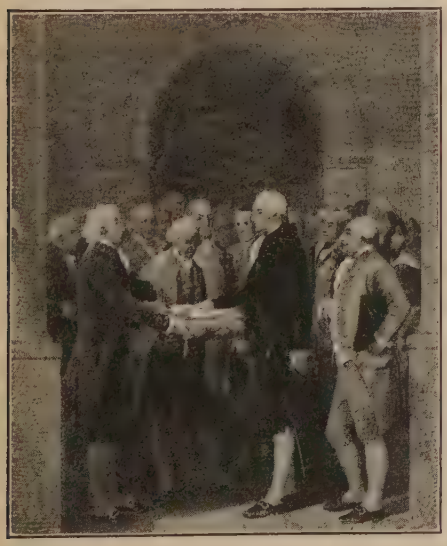
On the following day a messenger set out for Mount Vernon

to notify Washington of his election, and a few days later the President-elect started for New York to assume the duties of his great office.



WASHINGTON'S AUTOGRAPH

Washington's Journey from Mount Vernon. His journey from Mount Vernon to New York was like a triumphal procession. The people turned out everywhere in enthusiastic gatherings to do honor to the first citizen of the United States. At Alexandria he was entertained at a public dinner; a guard of honor escorted him through Baltimore; the governor of Pennsylvania, accompanied by a party of citizens and soldiers, met him at the state line; at Philadelphia he passed under triumphal arches; and at New York he was met by gayly-bedecked boats of every description, and military salutes were fired in his honor. Governor Clinton, accompanied by senators, representatives, and other officials, met him at the wharf, and that night the city was ablaze with bonfires and its streets were thronged with dense crowds of merry-makers.



THE INAUGURATION OF WASHINGTON
Robert R. Livingston, Baron Steuben, John Adams, and other noted men are shown in the picture.

Washington Inaugurated, April 30, 1789. It was the 30th of April before everything was in readiness for the inauguration of

the new President. The day was a notable one in New York. Great crowds of people were present to greet Washington. In the forenoon services were held in the churches of the city, and at twelve o'clock Washington went to Federal Hall on Wall Street and standing upon a high, open balcony, facing the street, he took the oath of office in the presence of an immense throng of people. When this was done, Mr. Livingston, who had administered the oath, stepped forward and cried out, "Long live George Washington, President of the United States." The people responded with a mighty shout and long-continued cheers were given for the new President. The flag of the United States was run up and the battery guns rang out the first salute.

Washington's Presidency, 1789-1797. Washington's inaugural address was a serious and impressive speech. He felt that he was about to undertake an important and a difficult task and tried to impress the same idea upon Congress. He felt that launching a new government was a very serious undertaking. He also stated, incidentally, that he wished no pay for his services as President of the United States.

The First Cabinet. One of Washington's first duties was to appoint the members of his Cabinet, or advisory body. (See pages 186-7.) This was an important duty as much of the success of the administration of any president must depend upon the ability of his cabinet officers. In this instance Washington made splendid appointments. Thomas Jefferson, the famous author of the Declaration of Independence, was made Secretary of State; Alexander Hamilton, one of the most brilliant men in American history, was made Secretary of the Treasury; Henry Knox, a distinguished soldier of the Revolution, was appointed to take charge of the War Department; and Edmund Randolph, the proposer of the "Virginia Plan" in the Constitutional Convention, was made Attorney-General, with a seat in the Cabinet. These Cabinet officers, although comparatively young, were all well-known men of splendid ability. Jefferson was the oldest at forty-six, and Hamilton the youngest, at thirty-two.

While this Cabinet was composed of four able men, it did not work together very well. It soon became divided. Jefferson once said that he and Hamilton faced each other "like fighting cocks" in a pit, and he was not far wrong.

The First Chief Justice. The executive and legislative departments of the government were now organized and ready for the transaction of business. It was now only necessary to organize the judicial department, to make the government complete. This was soon done. President Washington appointed John Jay, of New York, the first Chief Justice of the United States. Jay was a man of sterling integrity and of pure and spotless character. We shall know more of him later.

Ministers and Consuls. Now that the United States had become a free and independent nation, it was necessary to have representatives in foreign countries. One of Washington's first duties was to appoint these representatives, subject to the confirmation of the Senate.

We have two classes of men representing us abroad — *Ministers* (including *Ambassadors*) and *Consuls*.

It is the duty of the minister to frame treaties and to keep up friendly relations with the people to whose capital he is sent. His duties are *political* and he is said to be the diplomatic agent of the government. No special qualifications are required by law for the office, and it sometimes happens that a minister is not able to read or speak the language of the people to whom he is sent. We have had, however, many good and great men as foreign ministers. James Russell Lowell, the noted author, was at one time our minister to Great Britain.

In addition to the ministers the United States has consuls stationed in all parts of the world. They are located at all important business centers, especially at seaports, and are expected to look after the trade interests of the United States. Their duties are, for the most part, *commercial*. They look after the trade between the two countries and care for the interests of American sailors, and other citizens, who may be ill or in trouble

in a foreign country. They also make reports to the home government, at stated times, upon business conditions. Americans traveling in foreign countries are constantly calling upon the consuls for advice and assistance of various kinds.

Consuls are also appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. A few ministers and consuls were appointed under the Confederation, but the foreign service naturally became more important under the Constitution.

Washington showed excellent judgment in making appointments to office. In every case, he selected men of honesty, ability, and good reputation. He said that he wanted men of this kind because they would be more serviceable in public office, and also because the people would have confidence in them. He never thought of appointing men to office for party reasons.

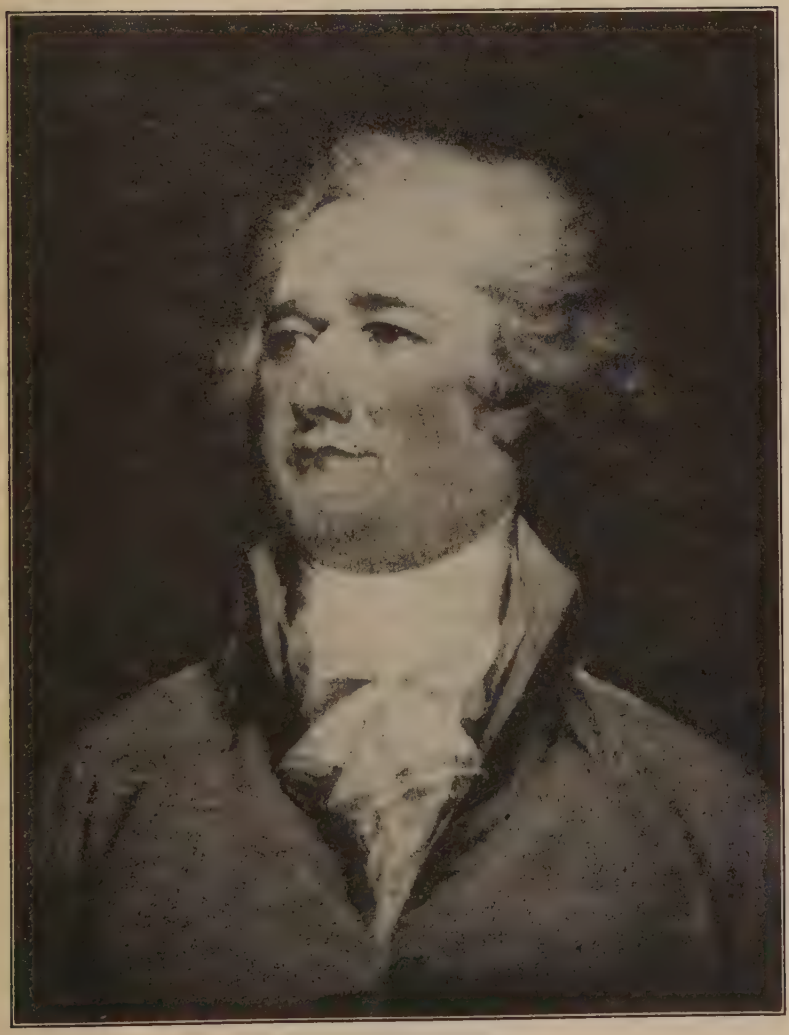
Hamilton's Financial Plan. We have already seen that the monetary system of the country was in a very unsatisfactory condition under the Confederation. It is, of course, very difficult to carry on business when the monetary system is not in good working order; so one of the first and most important duties of the new government was to reconstruct the financial system. This work naturally fell to Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury, and he performed the task in a wonderfully able manner.

He mapped out a plan consisting of five parts, as follows:

1. He wished to obtain money for the support of the government from tariff duties levied upon goods coming into the ports of the United States from foreign countries.

2. He also wished Congress to levy taxes upon all alcoholic liquors distilled in the United States.

3. Hamilton also proposed that the debts of the United States, both foreign and domestic, should be paid at their full face value. During the Revolution and later, American credit had fallen very low, and bonds and other securities had been sold at a few cents on the dollar. It now seemed to many that it would be a waste of money to pay off these securities at their face value. It was said that it would simply be putting money into the pockets of



ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Hamilton, one of the greatest financiers in American history, was born in the West Indies in 1757. He was a remarkably brilliant youth and began to make public speeches at seventeen. He was a student at King's College, New York City, (now Columbia University) and later became a lawyer. He died when forty-seven years of age.

the speculators who had purchased them for almost nothing. Hamilton, however, insisted that the United States promised to pay these debts in full, and that it would be dishonest to pay anything less. Fortunately, he had his way and our national honor was upheld and national credit was soon restored.

4. Hamilton further proposed that the debts of the several states be paid by the national government. He said that these debts had been contracted for the purpose of carrying on the Revolution and that the money had been spent for the common defense of the whole country. Therefore, he said that it was only fair that these debts be paid out of the national treasury.

5. The last part of Hamilton's plan provided for the establishment of a national bank. This bank was to be connected with the government and was to aid the government in financial matters.

This plan of Hamilton's was adopted by Congress, with the exception that a part, not all, of the state debts was assumed by the national government.

The Seat of Government. The assumption of the state debts was connected with the location of the seat of government. The Constitution provided that a piece of land, not more than ten miles square, should be set aside by Congress as a permanent seat for the government. It was not easy, however, to fix its location. Both the North and the South wanted it, and Philadelphia wished to be chosen as the temporary seat. When Hamilton saw that his plan for the assumption of state debts was likely to fail, he agreed with Jefferson that he would favor the location of the capital on the Potomac River, in case Jefferson would favor his plan for the assuming of state debts. Jefferson agreed, and the thing was done. The site for the permanent capital was located on the Potomac River, and state debts to the amount of $21,500,000 were assumed by the national government.

This is probably the first instance in American history of that political process which was later called "log rolling." The origin of the term is this: when our forefathers wished to clear

up a piece of land for agricultural purposes, they cut down the trees, and after trimming them they rolled up the logs in piles to be burned. It was customary for the neighboring farmers to assist each other in this process of log-rolling. At a later time, the term was applied to combinations in Congress, whereby two men or two sets of men worked together to pass bills in which they were mutually interested. "You help me roll my log and I'll help you roll yours."

Beginning of Political Parties. At the beginning of Washington's administration, there were no clearly defined political parties in the United States. The Federalists and the Anti-Federalists had contended over the adoption of the Constitution, but after its adoption the Anti-Federalists disbanded as a party. The Federalists who favored the Constitution were given the task of putting it into operation. Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, and John Jay were prominent among the leaders of this party, while Thomas Jefferson was by far the most influential man in the Republican party, which was organized near the close of Washington's first administration. Washington was not a party man, and tried to conduct the government without reference to parties.

Differences Between Parties. These two parties differed on the great political questions of the day.

In the first place, the Federalists favored, and the Republicans opposed, Hamilton's financial measures.

Another important difference between the two parties — perhaps the most important — lay in their interpretation of the Constitution. Jefferson and his followers said that the Constitution should be interpreted strictly and that Congress had no right to do anything which was not clearly authorized by the words of the Constitution. Hamilton and his followers, on the other hand, said that the Constitution should be interpreted liberally, or freely, and that Congress had the power to do many things which were not set forth in the words of the Constitution. An example will probably make this point plainer. When Hamilton proposed to establish a national bank, Jefferson objected, and said

that such a thing was impossible under the Constitution. He pointed out that the word "bank" did not appear anywhere in the Constitution, and held that Congress did not have the power to establish such an institution. Hamilton, on the other hand, said that the Constitution gave to Congress the power to manage the financial affairs of the country and that a bank was a very necessary part of the financial machinery of the government. He said that the power to establish a bank was not "expressly granted" in the Constitution, but that it was "implied."

The Federalists, believing in implied powers, thus came to be called "loose" or "liberal constructionists," while the Republicans were known as "strict" or "literal constructionists."

As a result of their views upon the interpretation of the Constitution, the Republicans were "States Rights" men, while the Federalists favored larger powers for the national government. Many of the Republicans, for example, denounced the excise tax (page 204), and resented the collection of it by the national government. In western Pennsylvania some of the collectors of this tax were smeared with coats of tar and feathers, and troops were sent by the national government, accompanied by Hamilton, to put down the insurrection. This disturbance, usually called the whisky rebellion, occured in 1794. The people saw for the first time that a strong national government was in existence which could enforce its own laws. The Republicans would give less power to the national government and more to the states.

There was still another difference between the two parties. The Republicans felt that the Federalists wanted to place the government, for the most part, in the hands of the so-called "upper classes" — that is, in the hands of the educated and the wealthy. The Republicans, on the other hand, favored the great body of the common people. Jefferson had great faith and confidence in the wisdom of the masses and wished to give them a large share in the government.

Still another difference should be noted. France and England

were at war at the time and the Republicans sympathized with France and wished to assist her against England. They said that France had aided the struggling colonies with men and money, during the Revolution, and that now her kindness should be repaid.

The Federalists, on the other hand, leaned toward England, but not as strongly as the Republicans did toward France.

Genet. The feeling between the two parties was made still more hostile by the coming of Edmund Charles Genet, the French minister to the United States. Genet landed in 1793 and was received with great enthusiasm by the French party in America. At Philadelphia and other cities he was greeted by the firing of guns and the ringing of bells and great banquets were given in his honor. All of this was done before he had presented his credentials to the President. He came to the conclusion, very naturally perhaps, that all America was in favor of France. He consequently began to enlist men to fight against England, and to do many things which he had no right to do. When he finally appeared before the President, Washington told him plainly that he was doing wrong and that his actions would not be tolerated. He paid no attention to this warning, however, but stubbornly persisted in his course until deserted by almost all of his followers. The French government was then asked to dismiss him and did so promptly.

Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality. Just about the time that Genet landed in this country, news came that war had been declared between France and England. Feeling rose to a fever heat. Some wanted the United States to take sides with France, and others with England, but Washington thought the whole matter over carefully and decided to favor neither country. On April 22, 1793, he issued a proclamation of neutrality in which he declared that the United States would take no part in the war, but would be friendly and impartial to both countries. He also warned citizens of the United States to keep out of the difficulty. Washington was denounced by many as an enemy

of free government, but his proclamation is now looked upon as a very wise measure.

The Jay Treaty. The Jay Treaty of 1795 also caused bitter strife between the two great political parties. At this time a new treaty with Great Britain seemed to be necessary. The treaty of 1783 was unsatisfactory in many respects, and several of its provisions were not being carried out. The Tories had not been paid for the loss of their property and British soldiers had not been removed from the American frontier.

There was still another difficulty. France and England were at war at this time, as we have seen, and during this war England — and France, too — seized American ships and carried off their cargoes. American ships and American goods were safe nowhere — not even on the high seas a thousand miles from French or English ports. British cruisers were more numerous than those of France and made more captures, hence indignation was especially strong against Great Britain.

In addition to this, the Americans were greatly angered by a British practice known as "impressment." American vessels were stopped wherever British cruisers chanced upon them, and were searched for sailors of British birth. If such men were found, they were seized and impressed into the British service. If a sailor had become an American citizen by naturalization, it made no difference. He was impressed into the British naval service nevertheless. The theory was, "once an Englishman, always an Englishman." It should be said, however, that in many cases the naturalization papers which were presented by sailors upon American ships were fraudulent. It is also true that in some cases native-born American citizens were impressed into the British service.

These outrages upon the sea aroused the indignation of the people and stirred the government to action.

Jay Appointed. In this crisis, when the country was trembling upon the verge of war, Washington appointed John Jay, Chief Justice of the United States, to go to England and to attempt a

peaceful settlement of the difficulty. Jay was only partly successful. The treaty which he negotiated was rather unfavorable to the United States,[1] but was undoubtedly the best that could be obtained at that time. It was better than a war with England, as the United States was a young nation and was not ready for another war.

Opposition to Treaty. As soon as the contents of the treaty became known in America, violent attacks were made upon it, particularly, perhaps, because it contained no clause to protect our commerce and seamen. Jay was burned in effigy and any one favoring the treaty was likely to be insulted. On one occasion when Hamilton was speaking in defense of it in New York he was pelted with stones. "Gentlemen," he said, "if you use such striking arguments, I must retire." When it came to the Senate for ratification, it was opposed by the Republicans and defended by the Federalists. It was finally ratified in June, 1795, after a heated debate lasting for sixteen days.

Admission of States. Vermont was the first state to be admitted to the Union after the original thirteen. This was done on March 4, 1791. Perhaps a word should be said at this time in regard to the process by which a new state is admitted into the Union. An act of Congress, called an enabling act, is passed, which gives the territory the authority to make a state constitution and to elect state officers. After this has been done in accordance with the provisions laid down by Congress, the President issues a proclamation, declaring that the state has been admitted and is now a member of the Union. On November 16, 1907, President Roosevelt issued such a proclamation in the case of the admission of Oklahoma.

The Farewell Address. Washington had been unanimously reëlected in 1792, and in September, 1796, he issued his now

[1] The western posts were not to be vacated by the British until June 1, 1796, and the British would not agree to pay for the slaves which had been carried to England at the close of the Revolution. No agreement was reached upon the impressment of seamen.

famous "Farewell Address" in which he declared that he would not accept a third presidential term. In this address, he made a plea for national unity, peace, obedience to law, morality, and religion. He urged the United States to "observe good faith and justice toward all nations," to keep out of "broils and wars," and to avoid large standing armies, excess of party spirit, and sectional strife. This farewell address is one of the most sublime documents in our history and should be read by every American citizen.

JOHN ADAMS

John Adams, one of the founders of the American Nation, was a native of Massachusetts, a graduate of Harvard College, a school-teacher, and a lawyer. He was a leader among the Revolutionary patriots and the British tried to arrest him and send him to England for trial. At a later time he served as our Minister to England and was received with honor.

Election of John Adams. Washington's farewell address opened the way for other candidates for the presidency. The Republicans at once turned to their great leader, Thomas Jefferson, while John Adams became the standard-bearer of the Federalists. The campaign was a vigorous one, in which Adams and Jefferson were both unfortunately held up to ridicule and abuse. Adams was elected President by three votes and Jefferson became Vice-President.

John Adams, President, 1797-1801. John Adams accordingly became President of the United States on the 4th of March, 1797. During his administration the United States had a very serious difficulty with France, which almost resulted in a war between the two countries. We have already seen that French cruisers were making attacks upon American vessels. This, our government resented. General C. C. Pinckney was appointed minister

to France to settle this and some other disputes. When Pinckney reached Paris, the French government refused to receive him. The French officers disliked him because he came to take the place of James Monroe, who was a great favorite in France. They accordingly sent notice to Pinckney that he would not be received, and that he must leave France at once, or be turned over to the police.

The treatment which Pinckney had received made President Adams very angry, but he was desirous of avoiding a war with France, and so made another attempt to secure a treaty. He sent to France for this purpose a commission consisting of three men. The French government also refused to listen to these men, unless they would pay a bribe of $250,000. This, of course, they indignantly refused to do. They were then told that they must pay the money or leave the country at once.

The news of this matter reached the United States a short time after. It was called the X Y Z Affair, because the names of the persons involved were not given, but were represented by the letters X, Y, and Z. Adams sent a ringing message to Congress, and preparations for war were set on foot. The President declared that negotiations with France were at an end and closed his message with this famous patriotic sentence: "I will never send another minister to France without the assurance that he will be received, respected, and honored as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation."

The song "Hail Columbia" was written at this time and served in no small measure to stir up the patriotism of the people. War seemed inevitable. Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of the American forces and a declaration of war was expected at any moment.

Just then a turn came in the tide of affairs. The French Minister of Foreign Affairs said that he was amazed at the X Y Z matter, and protested that he knew nothing whatever of the attempted bribery. He also said that he would receive the representatives of the United States at any time, with the greatest of

pleasure. President Adams, anxious to avoid war, appointed three men to go to Paris to negotiate a treaty. They went in due time, were received with courtesy, and negotiated a treaty which was duly signed on the 30th of September, 1800. War was thus averted and the honor of the United States was upheld.

Obnoxious Acts Passed by the Federalists. In the meantime, party feeling in the United States was growing more and more intense. Party newspapers took up the matter and added fuel to the flame. Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton, and even Washington were shamefully abused by the editors of these papers. Many of the editors of the Republican papers were foreign-born and were distrusted by the Federalists for this reason. The Federalists, who were in office, had been writhing for a long time under the attacks of the Republican editors. They now determined to strike a blow at these "democratic scribblers," as they called them. The present moment seemed to be a favorable time, as the publication of the X Y Z papers had aroused a wave of indignation against France, Republican editors, and French sympathizers in general.

The Federalists had a majority in Congress, and in the summer of 1798 they passed the following acts aimed at their opponents:

1. The *Naturalization Act* provided that a foreigner would have to reside in the United States for at least fourteen years before he could become a citizen. The period of residence required before this time was five years.

2. The *Alien Act* gave the President the power to order a foreigner to leave the country in case he considered him "dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States." President Adams never made use of this power.

3. The *Sedition Act* provided a fine and imprisonment for writing or publishing any article intended to bring the officers of the government into ridicule, contempt, or disrepute. This Act was aimed directly at the Republican editors and a few of them were prosecuted under its provisions. It should be said,

however, that although the Federalist editors were just as abusive as the Republican, they were not disturbed by the officers of the government.

The Republicans Protest. These acts were obnoxious to the Republicans and they protested vigorously against them. The famous Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798 and 1799 were drafted for this purpose. Jefferson and Madison wrote the resolutions and in them they said that Congress had gone beyond its powers in passing the objectionable acts. It was also stated in one set of resolutions that the states had the right

MOUNT VERNON

The home of Washington is situated in Virginia, a short distance from the city of Washington, on a beautiful spot overlooking the Potomac River. The place is neatly kept and the old mansion contains many historical relics of great interest. The building is open to the public. The above picture was made from a recent photograph.

to declare null and void any law passed by Congress which they thought unauthorized by the Constitution. The offensive acts of the Federalists were declared to be unconstitutional and a "solemn protest" was made against them.

These resolutions were passed by the legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia and then sent to the legislatures of the other states, but were received by them with very little favor. They were the outgrowth of the doctrine of "States Rights."

Death of Washington. On December 14, 1799, while the nation was excited over the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, the news came that George Washington, the strong staff upon

which the nation had leaned in times of stress, had passed away. His private secretary, in sending the news of his death to President Adams, wrote as follows: "His last scene corresponded with the whole tenor of his life; not a groan nor a complaint escaped him in extreme distress. With perfect resignation, in full possession of his reason, he closed his well-spent life."

THE BURIAL PLACE OF WASHINGTON AT MT. VERNON

The bodies of George Washington and Martha Washington lie within the gates of the tomb.

He now lies buried at Mount Vernon, only a short distance from the peaceful Potomac which he loved so well. Hundreds of illustrious men and women, from all quarters of the globe, have since paused at his tomb and paid a loving tribute to his splendid ability and high character.

The Election of 1800. In the fall of 1800, Adams and Pinckney were the Federalist candidates, while Jefferson and Aaron Burr were the Republican leaders. The result was a tie between Jefferson and Burr and the election was thrown into the House

of Representatives for the first time in our history. The House, each state having one vote, chose Jefferson President, while Burr became Vice-President and the supremacy of the Federalist party soon passed away forever. It never recovered from the defeat of 1800, and the "obnoxious Acts" had much to do with its downfall.

John Adams, however, lived on for a quarter of a century and had the pleasure of seeing his illustrious son, John Quincy Adams, occupy the presidential chair. He died on the evening of July 4, 1826, at the age of ninety-one. He and Jefferson, once personal and political enemies, had become warm friends in the evening of their lives, and Adams's last words were, "Thomas Jefferson still lives." He seemed to find consolation in this thought. He did not know that Jefferson had passed away a few hours before. "The two aged men," says Colonel Higginson, "floated on like two ships becalmed at nightfall, that drift together into port and cast anchor side by side." It is a curious coincidence that the author of the Declaration of Independence and its principal defender on the floor of Congress should both depart this life on the same day and on the fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of that immortal document.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Who were the leaders in Washington's first Cabinet? Why was it not an harmonious body?
2. In what ways could a bank be of service to the Government?
3. Why was Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality a wise measure?
4. Why was Jay at a disadvantage in negotiating his treaty?
5. Draw an outline map of the United States in 1789 and locate the capital of each state.
6. Why were the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions dangerous? What way is provided for the change of a law that is unsatisfactory to a state or group of states?
7. How many members in the present Cabinet? What departments were last added?

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

1. Higginson and MacDonald, "History of the United States," 296–319 (Washington); 320–329 (Adams).
2. Hart, "Formation of the Union," 137–146 (Organization of the New Government); 146–151 (Hamilton's Plan); 155–164 (Washington); 164–175 (Adams).
3. Walker, "The Making of the Nation," 62–72 (Starting the Government).
4. Sparks, "The Men who made the Nation," 79–118 (Adams); 151–180 (Hamilton); 181–217 (Washington).

The volumes of the "American Statesmen" series will be found useful for this and succeeding chapters. Stanwood's "Presidency" gives a satisfactory account of each presidential election.

CHAPTER XV

JEFFERSON AND THE OLD REPUBLICAN PARTY, 1801–1809.

President Jefferson was Hailed with Delight. The inauguration of President Jefferson was an important event in American history. It meant a great deal more than the coming of an able and many-sided man to the presidency. It meant the passing of the governmental authority from the hands of the Federalists to those of the Republicans.

The triumph of Jefferson and the Republicans was hailed with delight all over the country except in some parts of New England. After the result of the election became known, bells and guns of every sort were pressed into service to express the joy of the Republicans. Again, on Inauguration Day, the bells rang and the cannon boomed, and business was quite generally suspended. It was felt by the victorious Republicans that the control of the government had passed from the hands of the so-called "upper classes" into those of the "plain people." The Federalists, on the other hand, were quite downcast. They felt that the "ship of state" was now in the hands of the uneducated masses, and was in danger of being run upon the rocks.

The New Capital. Jefferson was the first President to be inaugurated in the city of Washington. In 1790 the seat of government had been transferred from New York to Philadelphia for a period of ten years. In 1791 the District of Columbia was located and the site for the new capital city was chosen. The broad streets and avenues and spacious squares of the city were laid out as they now are. Washington, who was President at the time, wished to call the future capital of the nation "the Federal City," but the committee having the matter in charge very appropriately named it "Washington."

THOMAS JEFFERSON

Jefferson was born in Virginia in 1743 and died in 1826. He was buried at Monticello, Virginia, and over his grave is a monument of granite bearing an inscription composed by himself. It reads as follows: "Here lies buried Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia."

In the last year of John Adams's administration, the seat of government had been removed from Philadelphia to Washington.

The Inauguration. The capital city, unlike Philadelphia, was new and crude. It consisted of a few buildings in the midst of the wilderness, and some of them were unfinished. Brilliant social events were impossible under such conditions, and what is more important, the Republicans were not in favor of useless display. The inauguration was a very simple ceremony. The new President walked to the capitol in the company of a few friends and quietly took the oath of office. It was his policy to introduce simplicity into governmental affairs.

Jefferson's Inaugural Address. It was regarded not only as the utterance of a great man, but as the platform of the party which was being intrusted for the first time with the management of national affairs. Therefore, it was looked for with great eagerness.

Jefferson was a broad-minded man, and in his address he sought to conciliate his opponents and to unite the country. "We are all Federalists; we are all Republicans. Let us, then, fellow citizens," he said, "unite with one heart and one mind and labor for the welfare of the country."

Jefferson's First Message to Congress. As it outlined, in a general way, the kind of laws which the Republicans intended to pass, this message was very important.

It is also interesting as being the first presidential message sent to Congress in writing. Washington and Adams had delivered their messages to Congress in the form of speeches. Jefferson said that it was simpler and more business-like to send a written message, but his opponents always said that he made the change because he was a good writer, but a very poor public speaker.

All of the Presidents since Jefferson have followed his example. It would certainly not be convenient at the present time for a President to deliver his messages orally. They are usually very long documents and are read by several clerks, taking turns, in the presence of the two houses.

Influence of a President's Message. In his message, it is customary for the President to review the general condition of the country and to give to Congress any new information which he may have in regard to the government. He also urges the passage of laws which may seem to him to be advisable.

The presidential message sometimes has great influence upon Congress, and sometimes almost no influence at all. If the President is a strong man and a natural leader, as Jefferson was, and addresses his message to a Congress which agrees with him in politics, it will have great influence. If the President is not an able and forceful man, or if he gives his advice to senators and representatives of the opposite political party, the message will be "a shot in the air."

Jefferson's Reforms. Jefferson and his party now set out to do two things — (1) to repeal some of the obnoxious laws passed by the Federalists, such as the Naturalization Act of 1798 (page 214); and (2) to cut down the running expenses of the government.

To abolish the objectionable federal statutes was an easy matter, as the Republicans had a majority in each house of Congress. It was not so easy, however, to cut down the expenses of the government. This part of the program fell to the lot of Gallatin, the brilliant Secretary of the Treasury, and he made a plan whereby the expenses were to be reduced and the national debt paid off. The plan seemed to work well. The income from tariff duties increased, the expenses of the army and navy were cut down, and in a short time the national debt was reduced about one half. This appeared to be an excellent showing, but it should be remembered that the fortifications were not kept up, officers and men had been dismissed from the army, the navy had been allowed to run down, and large sums of money would be necessary to prepare the country for war, if such an occasion should arise. When a second war with England broke out in 1812, it was seen that some of Jefferson's economy was not wise.

Louisiana Purchased from France. Let us now turn our

attention to foreign affairs. If Jefferson's policy of economy was not wise in every respect, he was exceedingly wise and far-seeing in the acquisition of territory. The area of the United States was doubled at one stroke in his administration. The purchase of Louisiana from the French in 1803 was the most important event in Jefferson's administration, and one of the most important events in all American history.

Louisiana at this time extended from Canada on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and from the Mississippi River on the east to the Rocky Mountains on the west. In addition to this, a small part of the territory, including the city of New Orleans, lay on the east side of the Mississippi.

This vast territory was secured for France, as we have seen, by La Salle, Father Marquette, and other early explorers. At the close of the French and Indian War, Spain obtained Louisiana from France (page 99), but gave it back in 1800 by a secret treaty.

In the fall of 1801 a rumor came to the United States that France again owned Louisiana. This news caused great excitement, because, if it were true, France would have control of the mouth of the Mississippi River. Since a large part of our agricultural products were going to Europe by way of New Orleans, the control of the Mississippi was an important matter. While Spain held this control the Americans did not care very much, because Spain was a weak nation. France, however, was a very strong nation, and it was feared that she might shut off all of our commerce from the Mississippi. The people of the West in particular became wildly excited, and many wanted to take possession of Louisiana by force of arms.

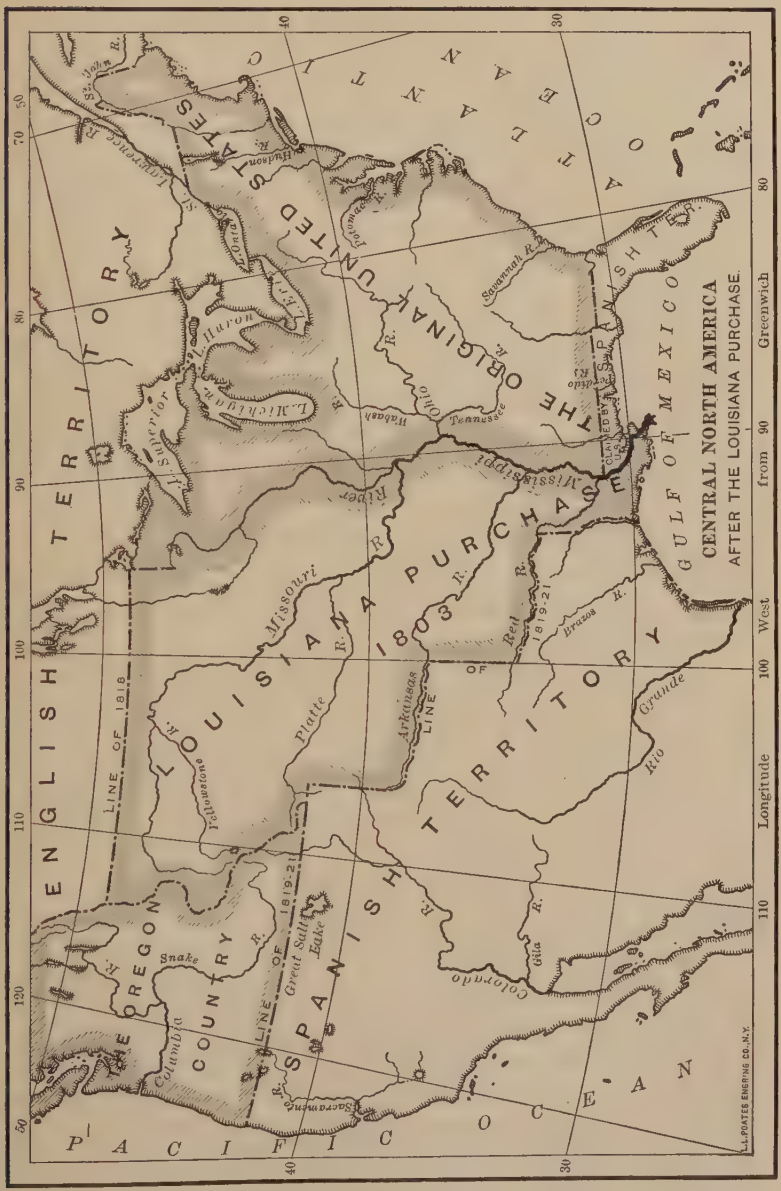
Just at this time Jefferson instructed Mr. Livingston, our minister to France, to purchase, if possible, the small island on which the city of New Orleans stood. At a later time he sent James Monroe to assist Livingston in making this purchase. Napoleon, who was at the head of French affairs at this time, would not listen to this proposition. He wanted to build up a

great French empire in America and knew well the value of the mouth of the Mississippi River.

Affairs now took a sudden turn. After steadfastly refusing to sell even the small spot of land upon which New Orleans stood, Napoleon suddenly offered to sell to the United States the *whole* of the Louisiana territory. Here was an astounding change of mind and the cause of it was this: Napoleon had heard that Great Britain was about to seize Louisiana and he instantly came to the conclusion that he would rather sell or even give it to the United States than have it fall into the hands of his old enemy, England.

Livingston and Monroe were amazed. They hardly knew what to do or say. Nobody had authorized them to purchase the whole territory, neither did they have the money to pay for it. They, however, very wisely concluded to risk it, so they accepted the proposition and agreed by a treaty, signed April 30, 1803, to pay fifteen million dollars for the Louisiana territory. The makers of this treaty were well aware of its great importance. Livingston said: "We have lived long but this is the noblest work of our whole lives. This treaty will change vast solitudes into flourishing districts and will prepare ages of happiness for innumerable generations of human creatures." Napoleon, when approving the treaty, remarked: "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States and I have given to England a maritime rival that will humble her pride."

When the news of the purchase became known, the people of the United States were both astonished and delighted. Jefferson, however, was embarrassed. He was a "strict constructionist" and could find no clause in the Constitution which authorized the purchase of territory. He wished to obtain Louisiana, but he did not wish to go contrary to the Constitution. After thinking the matter over, he proposed that the Constitution be amended so that the purchase could be made. His friends, however, persuaded him that the territory could be purchased under the treaty-making power of the Constitution and that an amend-


CENTRAL NORTH AMERICA
AFTER THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.
ENGLISH TERRITORY
UNITED STATES
THE ORIGINAL
LOUISIANA PURCHASE
1803
SPANISH TERRITORY
OREGON COUNTRY
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
LINE OF 1818
LINE OF 1819-21
Missouri R.
Platte R.
Arkansas R.
Red R.
Rio Grande
Columbia R.
Snake R.
Colorado R.
Gila R.
Great Salt Lake
Mississippi R.
Ohio R.
Tennessee R.
Savannah R.
Hudson R.
St. Lawrence R.
L. Michigan
L. Huron
L. Superior
Longitude
West from Greenwich
40
30
50
70
80
90
100
110
120
130

ment was not necessary. The purchase was accordingly ratified and the Constitution was not amended.

By this purchase the area of the United States was doubled. Louisiana contained 560,000,000 acres, and its area was more than seven times that of Great Britain and Ireland. It was larger than Great Britain, France, Spain, Germany, Portugal, and Italy combined. Thirteen great states now occupy this vast domain and it is the home of fifteen millions of people, or about one sixth of the population of the United States.

The Barbary Pirates. American ships were again having trouble upon the seas. While the President and his ministers were busily engaged in the purchase of Louisiana, the bold pirates from the Barbary states of northern Africa were just as busy plundering American ships and enslaving American sailors. In 1803, a United States fleet sailed against one of these states, — Tripoli, — and two years later it was forced to cease its piratical attacks upon American ships and to make a treaty. The other Barbary states, surprised by this vigorous action, also concluded to stop their plundering.

Great Britain and France were also Offenders. The worst attacks upon American ships, however, were made, not by the little Barbary states, but by France and Great Britain. These two nations were friendly enough to the United States, but they were at war with each other, and neither hesitated to strike a blow at American commerce in case the other could be injured by so doing. If the British, for example, came upon an American vessel loaded with food supplies and bound for a French port, they did not hesitate to capture her and take her cargo.

According to international law (a sort of agreement among the civilized nations) ships are not allowed to enter a "blockaded" port. If they do, they are liable to capture and to the loss of their cargoes. In order that a port may be said to be "blockaded," however, there must be ships stationed near-by to prevent trading boats from entering. If a vessel takes the risk and "runs the blockade," she must suffer the consequences if caught. In this

case, however, France and England had no blockading fleets. They simply *declared* certain ports to be in a state of blockade. They then captured American vessels on the high seas or anywhere else, if bound to or from one of these "blockaded" ports. This is called a "paper blockade," and is not warranted by international law. Yet, in this way, many American ships were captured by cruisers of France and Great Britain and their cargoes were condemned and sold.

Impressment of American Seamen. In addition to these outrages upon American commerce, Great Britain insisted upon searching American ships for British sailors and upon impressing them, when found, into the British service (page 210). This also led to many abuses, and the American people, from the President down, were naturally indignant.

Jefferson Favored Peace. There was good cause for declaring war against both France and England, but the President saw that the United States was not prepared to go to war with either of these nations. He tried to settle the difficulty in a peaceable manner, but was able to accomplish nothing.

In the meantime, American ships were still being captured and plundered. On June 22, 1807, a British ship, the *Leopard*, fired upon the American frigate *Chesapeake*, near Hampton Roads. The *Chesapeake* was overpowered and compelled to surrender. The British boarded her deck and took away three American and one British sailor. The whole nation was aroused. Men wore crape upon their arms in honor of the *Chesapeake's* dead and cried out for war. "Never," said Jefferson in a letter to La Fayette, "since the Battle of Lexington, have I seen the country in such a state of exasperation as at present."

The Embargo Act. President Jefferson was still in favor of peace and suggested a peaceable remedy. This was his famous embargo policy. Acting upon his suggestion, Congress passed the Embargo Act, on December 22, 1807. This law prohibited American ships from starting for foreign ports under any conditions whatever. Commerce was to be stopped and American

ships and American sailors were to be protected by being kept safely in American harbors. France and Great Britain, too, were to be deprived of American food supplies.

The law was a failure. American ship owners were not in favor of it, as it would destroy their business, and France and England received the measure with derision. It was soon seen that it was impossible to enforce the law, as American ships took the risk and stole out to sea. The Act was repealed March 1, 1809, three days before Jefferson went out of office.

The Non-intercourse Act. On the same day on which the Embargo Act was repealed, a Non-intercourse Act was passed, cutting off all trade relations with Great Britain and France. It was provided that the Act was to remain in force for a short time only.

JEFFERSON'S AUTOGRAPH

Acts of Congress, however, could not hold the lawless cruisers in check, and three years later the United States declared war against Great Britain in order to secure her rights upon the ocean.

The Elections. In 1804 Jefferson had been reëlected by an overwhelming majority. He carried every state in the Union except Connecticut and Delaware. The contest was so one-sided that it would have been uninteresting except for the fact that it was the first election held under the new electoral college.

The Constitution at first provided that each presidential Elector should vote for *two* men without indicating which of the two was his choice for President. The man receiving the highest number of votes was elected President, in case he obtained a majority of all the votes cast. The next highest man on the list was elected Vice-President.

This plan did not work well. In 1800 there was a tie vote. Every Republican Elector voted for both Jefferson and Burr and there was no choice, although the Electors intended that Jefferson should be President and Burr Vice-President. The election was

thrown into the House of Representatives and there was a great deal of confusion and some delay.

As a result of the election of 1800, the twelfth amendment to the Constitution was passed in 1804. This amendment is now in force and under it the Electors indicate their choice for President and Vice-President, respectively. This plan was first used in the election of 1804 and has worked well ever since.

When Jefferson's second term was drawing to a close, many persons began to talk of a third term. Jefferson, however, would not consent to this. He was sixty-five years of age and had been in public life for forty years. He also believed in short terms of office.

Other candidates were then discussed. Aaron Burr, who received a tie vote with Jefferson in 1800, was not thought of. He was in disgrace. The reason was this: while Vice-President he was a candidate for the governorship of New York and was opposed very vigorously by Alexander Hamilton. As a result he challenged Hamilton to fight a duel. The two men met in the summer of 1804 and Hamilton fell, mortally wounded by a bullet from Burr's pistol. Upon the following day the ablest of the brilliant group of constitutional statesmen passed away at the early age of forty-seven.[1]

Although Jefferson took no active part in the contest, he was known to favor his Secretary of State, James Madison, and Madison was accordingly nominated. He was also elected by a very large majority.

[1] Burr's political prospects were ruined and he also became a social outcast. In addition to this he had trouble in his business affairs. He then planned an expedition to the Southwest. Late in 1806 he got together a party of men on Blennerhassett's Island in the Ohio River, near Marietta, and started down stream. Nobody knows to this day exactly what Burr intended to do. Perhaps he did not know himself. It is probable, however, that he wished to make a conquest of Mexico and the Spanish possessions and cut off a part of the Southwest Territory from the United States and then organize this vast domain into an empire under the leadership of himself and his daughter Theodosia. Nothing came of the expedition, as President Jefferson caused Burr to be arrested and placed on trial for treason.

On March 4, 1809, Jefferson handed over the reins of government to his faithful personal, and political friend, and retired soon after to spend the remainder of his useful life at his delightful home at Monticello, Virginia. Although no longer active in political affairs, the "sage of Monticello," as he came to be called, exercised a very great influence upon the government. His advice was eagerly sought on all important matters for many years.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. What is meant by "Republican simplicity"?
2. Why was the purchase of Louisiana important?
3. Did the United States have cause for war against Great Britain or France?
4. Get a copy of the next presidential message which appears and read parts or the whole of it.
5. Draw a map of the Louisiana purchase and put in the boundaries of the present states. What are the most important cities in this territory?
6. Justify Jefferson's purchase of the Louisiana Territory. Imagine yourself living in the Northwest Territory at this time. Write a letter to a friend stating the advantages that this purchase would be to the territory in which you live.
7. Give the early history of the Louisiana Territory. Speak of changes in ownership.
8. Locate and name the Barbary States.

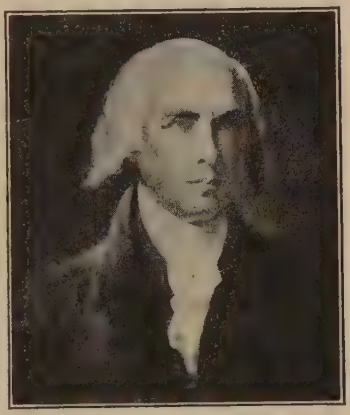
REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

1. Higginson and MacDonald, "History of the United States," 329–342.
2. Hart, "Formation of the Union," 176–198.
3. Sparks, "The Men who made the Nation," 218–224.

CHAPTER XVI

MADISON AND THE WAR OF 1812, 1809–1817

ALTHOUGH James Madison was well and favorably known long before he became President of the United States, his election was not a matter of great interest and excitement as that of Jefferson had been. The reason for this is plain. It was well known that Madison agreed fully with Jefferson in regard to matters of government, and that no important changes would be made in the management of public affairs. As a matter of fact Madison's administration may be looked upon as a continuation of that of Jefferson.



JAMES MADISON

James Madison was one of the most useful men in American history. He was a Virginian, a graduate of Princeton college, and the author of many able state papers.

In social matters the coming of Madison made a considerable change. Much of the Jeffersonian simplicity vanished. The President and his wife were fond of society and ceremony, and life in Washington was much more brilliant than in the time of Jefferson. Mrs. Madison, better known in history as "Dolly" Madison, was twenty years younger than her husband, and became a great social leader. She is now looked upon as one of the most famous of the ladies of the White House.

Foreign Affairs. American foreign affairs were, as we have

seen (page 228), in a deplorable condition at the close of Jefferson's administration. Great Britain and France were committing outrages upon American commerce, which the United States was powerless to prevent. The Embargo Act had proved a failure and had been repealed; the Non-intercourse Act, which never amounted to much, expired early in 1810; other legislation had likewise proved useless and the country was being driven rapidly toward war.

The "War Hawks." Madison, like Jefferson, was a man of peace, but many of the younger Republican leaders thought that the time to fight had come, and the President was not able to hold them in check. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, and Henry Clay, of Kentucky, were especially eager for war. These "war hawks," as they were called, finally had their way.

France or Great Britain? Should war be declared against France, or Great Britain, or both? As far as depredations upon American commerce were concerned, the two nations were about equally blameworthy. Jefferson once said, "England seems to have become a den of pirates and France a den of thieves."

It was easily seen, however, that it would be folly to declare war against these two strong nations at the same time; and when the American leaders thought the matter over, they came to the conclusion that the offenses of Great Britain were more odious than those of France. Great Britain had done one thing which France had not done. She had impressed American seamen into her naval service. In addition to this, the Americans were convinced that the British were inciting the Indians along the frontier to make attacks upon American settlements.

The Battle of Tippecanoe. The Indians were becoming active and hostile along the western frontier, but it is a mistake to suppose, as President Madison did, that the British were stirring them up. There was another reason for their activity. Two great Indian leaders had arisen in the West — Tecumseh, and his twin brother, the Prophet. Tecumseh was one of the greatest leaders ever produced by the American Indians, and

he saw that the hunting-grounds of his people were being gradually taken by the whites. He attempted to check these encroachments by a bold stroke. He tried to unite the Indian tribes in a great republic or confederacy extending from Canada on the north to Florida on the south. He would then organize a great army from this confederacy and crush the whites. He felt that this was a favorable time to strike, owing to the growing trouble between the United States and Great Britain.

Tecumseh made some headway, but his plans were completely defeated by General William Henry Harrison, who at that time was governor of the Indiana Territory. Harrison, having been informed of the intentions of the red men, marched against them with a small army and defeated them on November 7, 1811, in the decisive Battle of Tippecanoe, fought about seven miles north of La Fayette, Indiana.

The victory of Tippecanoe broke the power of the Indians in the West and aided the Americans in the war with Great Britain, which followed soon after. While the British undoubtedly did not stir up the Indians to hostility against the Americans, they probably did plan to make use of them in case of a war with the United States. Tecumseh himself joined the British army the year after the defeat of his people at Tippecanoe.

War Declared. Finally indignation ran so high against Great Britain, and the pressure upon Madison became so great that he sent a message to Congress recommending that war be declared against Great Britain. This was done on June 18, 1812, in the face of a strong opposition in each house of Congress. The greater part of the vote in favor of the war resolution came from the South and West. It was unfortunate that the United States was obliged to enter upon an important war without the united support of all sections of the country. It should be said, however, that New England, although opposed to the war and voting against it, sent her share of fighting men to the front when hostilities actually began.

Was War Justifiable? It has been said by some that the War

of 1812 was not justifiable. It is true that an apology had been made by Great Britain for the *Chesapeake* outrage. It is also true that about the time war was declared England withdrew her offensive orders in regard to our commerce. President Madison and many of the people were mistaken in thinking that the British had incited the Indian outrages on the frontier. It is also true that France was about as much to blame as England. However, attacks were already being made on American ships and the people could not forget that four thousand American seamen had been impressed into British service and that many of them were at that moment prisoners on board British ships. An English writer (Cobbett) wrote at the time: "Great numbers of Americans have been imprisoned and are now in our navy. . . . That many of these men have died on board our ships, that many have been worn out in service, there is no doubt." Another noted Englishman (Lord Collingwood) said with truth that England would not tolerate for a single hour such outrages upon her citizens and commerce. President Madison was a man of peace, but he was forced to go to war to uphold the honor of his country and to protect her rights. In spite of these facts, some writers have called the War of 1812 "Mr. Madison's War."

The War of 1812

Brilliant Victories on the Sea. The most striking feature of the War of 1812 was the success of the American Navy. American ships were manned by natural seamen, — fishermen and others, — who proved to be excellent fighters. The Yankee sailor was alert, bold, and quick to strike. He was a natural mechanic, a good gunner, and a master in planning an attack; but even when we take all this into consideration, his "victories were more than unexpected, they were astounding." The *London Times* complained that divine providence seemed to be on the side of the American ships in every contest: "If they fight, they are sure to conquer; if they fly, they are sure to escape."

The Constitution Captures the Guerriere. Great Britain, the proud "mistress of the seas," suffered a series of defeats upon the ocean at the hands of the untrained American sailors. One of the first and most important of these was the defeat, August 19, 1812, of the *Guerriere* by the American frigate *Constitution*, under the command of Captain Isaac Hull. "In less than twenty min-

THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN LAWRENCE
"Don't give up the Ship!"

utes from the time that we got alongside the enemy," said Hull, "she was left without a spar standing." "This victory," says a noted American historian, "raised the United States in one-half hour to the rank of a first-class power."

The news of the defeat and destruction of the *Guerriere* was received with delight all over the United States, because this ship had been particularly active in the searching of American vessels.

The Capture of the Chesapeake. Reverses came in June of the following year. The American frigate *Chesapeake* met the British *Shannon* off Boston and a notable contest ensued. In the course of the engagement Captain Lawrence of the American ship was mortally wounded, but called out to his men, while being carried below, "Don't give up the ship! Keep the guns

PERRY AT THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE

going! Fight her till she sinks!" The American vessel was captured and taken to Halifax, but the dying command of the gallant Lawrence has become an American battle cry which will never be forgotten.

Perry's Victory on Lake Erie. In the same year (September 10, 1813) Commodore Perry of the American Navy won a brilliant victory on Lake Erie. Perry was only twenty-seven years old at the time and was fighting against Captain Barclay, one of the veterans of the British Navy. Perry's victory was complete and

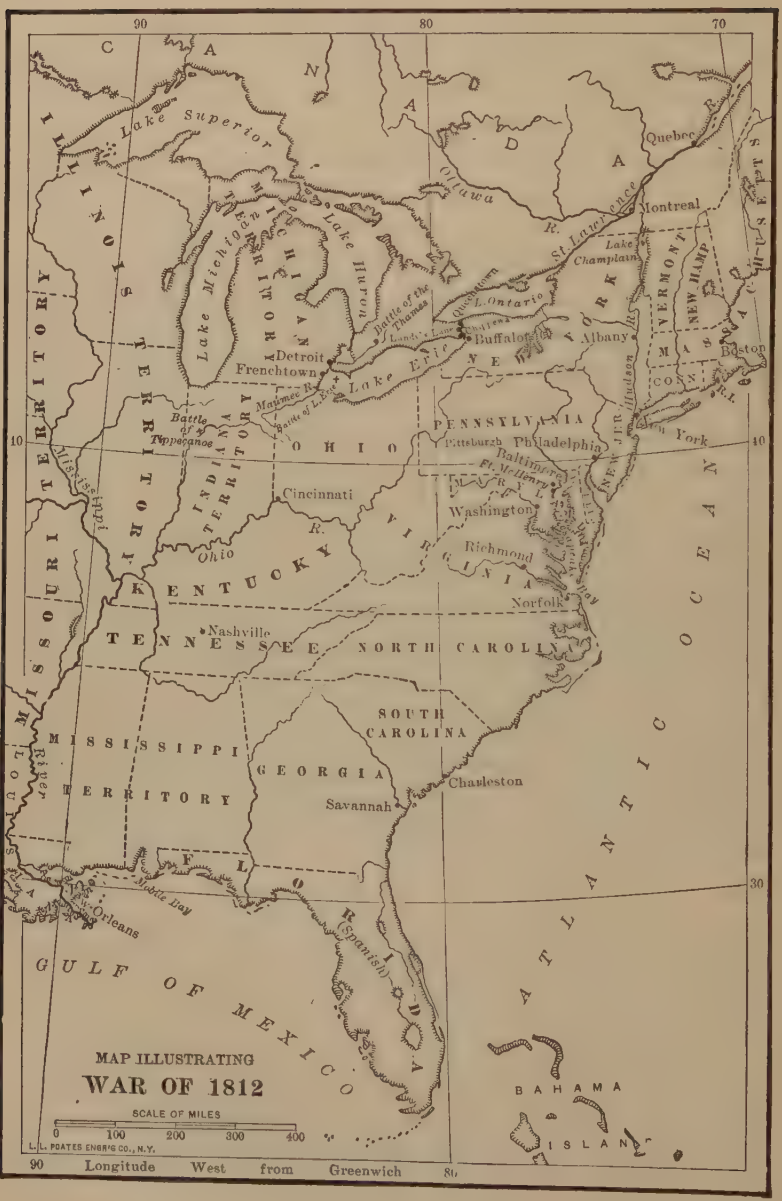
decisive, and his dispatch to General Harrison thrilled the nation: "We have met the enemy and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop. Yours with great respect and esteem, O. H. Perry."

American Victory Near Plattsburg. There was also fighting on the small inland lakes. The British were planning to invade New York, and had placed a fleet on Lake Champlain to assist in this invasion. In September, 1814, Commodore Thomas MacDonough of the American fleet won a brilliant victory over the British off Plattsburg, after a hard-fought contest. MacDonough showed splendid skill in this battle and the people placed him side by side with Perry, the hero of Lake Erie. Congress tendered him a vote of thanks and struck a gold medal in his honor, and the state of Vermont presented him a farm overlooking the scene of his victory.

Land Battles: Invasion of Canada. The land forces did not do so well. It is really not too much to say that the War of 1812 was won by the American Navy.

There was a strong desire on the part of the Americans to conquer and annex Canada. This desire may have had something to do with the eagerness of certain American leaders to declare war against Great Britain rather than against France. In the first year of the war, two expeditions were sent against Canada Both failed. Adequate preparations had not been made and in one case, at any rate, the army was poorly commanded. General Hull, who was at the head of the first expedition, surrendered to the British commander without striking a blow, and the second army was defeated a short distance below Niagara Falls. The land campaigns of the first year of the war ended disastrously for the Americans.

The second year (1813) was one of mingled joys and sorrows. In this year, General William Henry Harrison passed Detroit, entered Canada, and defeated the British in October in the Battle of the Thames. Tecumseh, the great Indian chief, was killed in this battle.


90
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CANADA
Lake Superior
Quebec
Ottawa R.
Montreal
St. Lawrence R.
Lake Champlain
ILLINOIS TERRITORY
MICHIGAN TERRITORY
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Battle of the Thames
L. Ontario
Queenston
Landing from Niagara
Buffalo
Albany
NEW YORK
VERMONT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASS.
Boston
CONN.
R.I.
Detroit
Frenchtown
Lake Erie
Maumee R.
Battle of Lake Erie
Battle of Tippecanoe
PENNSYLVANIA
Pittsburgh
Philadelphia
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Washington
Cincinnati
INDIANA TERRITORY
Ohio R.
Richmond
VIRGINIA
KENTUCKY
Norfolk
Nashville
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY
GEORGIA
Charleston
Savannah
Mobile Bay
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GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BAHAMA ISLANDS
MAP ILLUSTRATING
WAR OF 1812
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400
L. L. POATES ENGR'G CO., N.Y.
90 Longitude West from Greenwich 80

The Capitol Burned. In 1814 the British ravaged the Atlantic coast, and in August captured the city of Washington. The President, members of the Cabinet, and other officers departed in great haste. Mrs. Madison, the wife of the President, hastily gathered up some of her silverware as she fled, and the British afterwards said that they ate the dinner which was intended for the President and his household. The British army then burned the Capitol, White House, and most of the other government buildings. It should be said, however, that the English people as a whole did not approve of this wanton destruction. One British publication called it "a return to the times of barbarism." Another remarked, "The Cossacks spared Paris, but we spared not the capital of America."

Attack on Baltimore. From Washington, the British moved northward and made an attack on Baltimore. Fort McHenry in Baltimore harbor was fired upon and during the bombardment, which lasted a day and a night without success, Francis Scott Key, a Baltimore man, then a prisoner on one of the bombarding ships, wrote the well-known lines of the "Star Spangled Banner."

The Hartford Convention. We have already noticed that the war was brought on by the votes of the South and the West. New England was opposed to it. It was said that the war was not a just one, but was being waged for the purpose of getting possession of Canada. One thing was certain — the war was playing havoc with the commerce of New England and this fact probably had something to do with the opposition to it.

One result of this opposition was the Hartford Convention of 1814. On December 15th of that year, delegates from several of the New England states met at Hartford to discuss the war. It was feared at the time that the New England states might withdraw and that the Union might be broken, but this was not done. Some amendments to the Constitution were suggested by the New England men, and it was urged that the states be allowed to retain the custom duties collected within their borders. It was intimated also that the states might secede from the Union in

case their wishes were not complied with. A committee was appointed to lay the whole matter before Congress, but the treaty of peace had been made with Great Britain before the convention adjourned, and nothing came of the movement.

Jackson Wins the Battle of New Orleans. The British late in the year made a plan to take New Orleans. Here, however, they met Andrew Jackson, the hardy Indian fighter, and were repulsed with great loss. The British lost twenty-one hundred

THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS

men, killed and wounded, while the Americans lost only about seventy. The Battle of New Orleans took place on the 8th of January, 1815. It is a peculiar fact that the battle was fought *after* the treaty of peace had been made.

The Peace of Ghent. On December 24, 1814 — two weeks before Andrew Jackson won his memorable victory at New Orleans — a treaty of peace was signed at Ghent in what is now Belgium. If the ocean cable and the telegraph had been in use, the loss of life at New Orleans might have been saved. It was

not known in America at the time of the battle that a treaty had been made.

Results of the War. The terms of the treaty are not important. Things were left very much as they were before the war began. Nothing was said about impressment or the other causes of the war. In fact, the causes of the war had now practically passed away. France and Great Britain were at peace and were no longer attacking American commerce. Impressment also had ceased. It was agreed that each nation should give up the territory which it had conquered.

Indirect Results. It would seem, then, at first thought, that nothing whatever was gained by the Americans in the second war with England. This is really not true. The war was fought for commercial independence and from that time on American ships were safe upon the seas. Then, again, the war served to unite the nation and to gain for it the respect of all Europe. The victories of Hull, Perry, MacDonough, and Jackson will not soon be forgotten.

The United States Bank. There were still other indirect results. The financial system of the country had fallen into a sad state during the war. The charter of Hamilton's bank had expired in 1811 and Congress declined to renew it. The result was the establishment of a number of state banks, some of them almost without capital. It was now thought best to recharter the United States bank, and in 1816 Henry Clay and other influential leaders succeeded in getting a new charter for twenty years. One fifth of the bank stock was to be owned by the government.

Manufacturing Stimulated. Another result of the war was to stimulate manufacturing, particularly in New England. Trade with Europe was cut off and goods had to be made at home.

The First Protective Tariff. The development of manufacturing in New England led to a demand for protection and the first American protective tariff law was passed in 1816. This law was intended not only to provide a revenue for the support of

the government, but also to protect American manufacturers by enabling them to charge higher prices for their goods. Before the British manufacturer, for instance, could place his goods in competition with American products, he had to pay, not only the cost of producing his wares, but also a tariff duty for the privilege of bringing them in at American ports. The duties imposed by the law of 1816 were not nearly so high as they are now, the highest being about thirty per cent.

Internal Improvements. Finally, the war led to a demand for "Internal Improvements." After the treaty was made migration to the West was vastly increased, and there was a great demand for highways and canals to connect the West with the East.

The Elections. In the first year of the war Madison was reëlected President by a large majority. He was not a candidate for a third term and the Republicans nominated and elected James Monroe of Virginia, Secretary of State in Madison's Cabinet. The "Father of the Constitution" now retired from public life, but, like Jefferson, he lived in retirement for many years and exercised a great influence upon public affairs.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. What services had Madison rendered to the country before becoming President?
2. Make a list of the causes of the War of 1812.
3. Why did New England oppose the War of 1812?
4. Locate upon the map the principal points of interest in the war.
5. How is war declared?
6. Recall times previous to the Hartford Convention when states threatened to leave the Union.
7. Compare and contrast the War of 1812 with the Revolution.
8. Read Holmes's "Old Ironsides" and recite "The Star Spangled Banner."

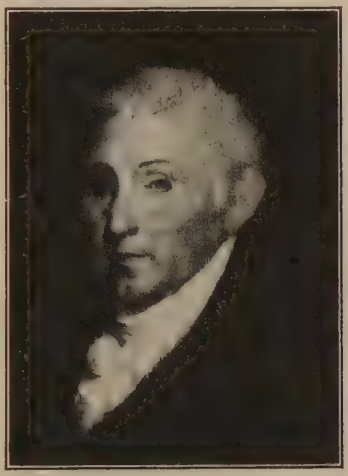
REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

1. Higginson and MacDonald, "History of the United States," 342–362.
2. E. E. Hale, "Story of Massachusetts," 310–319 (War of 1812).

CHAPTER XVII

MONROE AND THE ERA OF GOOD FEELING, 1817–1825

JAMES MONROE was a well-known public man when he became President in 1817. He had been a soldier in the Revolution, a foreign minister, a United States senator, a Cabinet member, and governor of his native state, Virginia. While he was not so great a man as Madison, he still had a good public record. His election did not create any great national excitement, as it was known that the Republican policies of Jefferson and Madison would be continued.



JAMES MONROE

Monroe was born in Virginia in 1758, not far from the birthplace of Washington. In this same vicinity dwelt Richard Henry Lee, "Light Horse Harry" Lee, and General Robert E. Lee, leader of the Confederate Army in the Civil War. This region has been called "the Athens of Virginia" on account of the large number of great men which it produced. Monroe entered William and Mary College but soon left it to fight the battles of the Revolution.

"Era of Good Feeling." Monroe's presidency is sometimes called the "Era of Good Feeling." The war was over, American rights were respected, and American ships were safe upon the ocean. Then, too, the Federalist party was dead and the hatred caused by party strife had largely vanished. In fact, Monroe may be looked upon as the representative of the *people* rather than of the Republican party.

It should be said also that the Republicans had changed their policy somewhat since the time of Washington. Many of the

ideas of the Federalists had been adopted, and the old doctrine of strict construction of the Constitution was being gradually abandoned. Louisiana, for instance, had been purchased and the United States bank had been rechartered under the "implied powers" of the Constitution. The Republicans were very sensible and practical in changing their ideas to suit the new conditions.

DETROIT IN 1820

This picture represents the city of Detroit about the time of President Monroe's visit. The *Walk-in-the-Water*, the first steamer that ever floated on Lake Erie, appears in the foreground.

Then, too, business and commerce had revived since the war and a constant stream of immigrants was pouring into the West. In such a busy period there seemed to be little time for political wrangling.

The President's Tours. The new President also added to the feeling of good-will which prevailed. In the summer of 1817, accompanied by several government officers, President Monroe made an extensive tour of the North. The object of the journey

was said to be the inspection of the harbors and fortifications of the Atlantic coast, but the President also doubtless wished to get better acquainted with the people of the North and of New England in particular, and thus gain their good-will. In doing this, he was quite largely successful. The trip occupied three and a half months, and in the course of it the President and his party visited the principal cities of the Atlantic coast as far north as the present site of Portland, Maine. The party then went to Detroit and returned to Washington by way of Pittsburg.

The tour was a success in every particular. The President, six feet tall and broad shouldered, and clad in the uniform of a Revolutionary soldier, made a fine appearance. He also delivered good, sensible speeches at the various places and was received with honor and enthusiasm everywhere. Addresses of welcome, triumphal arches, bands of school children, and squads of horsemen, greeted him at every turn, and bells and guns joined in a noisy welcome. Two years later he made a similar trip through the South.

The Purchase of Florida, 1819. An important section of territory was acquired during Monroe's administration. Since the purchase of Louisiana from France in 1803 there had been a disagreement between Spain and the United States in regard to the boundary between Florida and Louisiana. The purchase of Florida by the United States for five million dollars furnished an easy way out of the difficulty. The western boundary of Louisiana was also more clearly defined in this treaty. The United States gave up her claim to Texas, and Spain surrendered her claims to the Oregon country. The treaty was signed on Washington's birthday, 1819, and Florida became a part of the territory of the United States, but was not admitted into the Union as a state until 1845.

The Monroe Doctrine, 1823. More important than the purchase of Florida, however, was the publication of the "Monroe Doctrine," in December, 1823. This was the most notable event in Monroe's administration, and one of the most important

events in American history. It came about in this way. Just at this time Mexico and the Spanish colonies of South America were rebelling against the mother country and setting themselves up as independent republics — just as the English colonies had done about a half a century before. In 1822 the independence of these colonies was recognized by the United States. Several of the European monarchies, which were naturally opposed to republican government, had formed the "Holy Alliance," so called, and thought of interfering for the purpose of placing the republics back under the power of Spain. At about the same time Russia was laying claim to a large part of the Pacific coast (including a part of Oregon) to which the Americans thought she was not entitled. These acts on the part of Russia and the "Holy Alliance" alarmed the officers of the United States; and John Quincy Adams, the far-sighted Secretary of State, came to the conclusion that it would not be wise to allow the nations of Europe to meddle with affairs on the American continents. The United States was not interfering in European affairs and he thought that Europeans should not meddle with American affairs (page 209). He pressed the matter upon the attention of the President and induced him to make a declaration, in his message to Congress, of the now famous Monroe Doctrine. This doctrine consists of two parts. (1) In the first place the President, having the Russian claim in mind, declared that the American continents should not "be considered as subjects for colonization by any European power." (2) He also said that the United States would consider it unfriendly for any European nation to interfere with the government of any republic established on American soil. He said that he considered it "dangerous to our peace and safety" for European nations to extend their power in the western hemisphere.

President Monroe's protest had the desired effect and the Spanish republics were not interfered with. The Monroe Doctrine has been enforced in several instances and still continues to be an important part of American policy in spite of the fact that several European nations have contended that the United States

had no right to extend its protection over South and Central America.

La Fayette Visits the United States. In May of the following year (1824), Congress sent an invitation to the Marquis de La Fayette to visit the United States as "the nation's guest."

James Monroe, the personal friend and companion-in-arms of La Fayette in the Revolution, was the President of the United States, and he also was anxious to entertain his old friend. La Fayette accepted the invitation and remarked that he would visit America "the beloved land" as "an adopted son." He did so in company with his son, and went into every one of the twenty-four states. He was met by the people everywhere with love, respect, and enthusiasm.

The Elections. At the close of his first term (1820) President Monroe was reëlected by an almost unanimous vote. He received the vote of every elector but one.

Four years later (1824) there was a more vigorous contest. No less than seventeen men were anxious to succeed President Monroe, and for this reason the election of 1824 is sometimes called "the scrub race for the presidency." Six of these candidates were seriously considered and four of them received votes in the electoral college.

Party lines had vanished, as there were no great political issues at stake. Each candidate represented a different section of the country and had his personal and local following. The contest was a bitter one, and much bad feeling was stirred up. Jackson received 99 electoral votes, Adams 84, Crawford 41, and Clay 37. No one was elected. No candidate had received a majority of the votes in the electoral college and it thus became the duty of the House of Representatives to choose a President from the three highest on the list. Clay was thus left out and the House proceeded to ballot on the other three names. Clay threw his influence to Adams and the latter was elected, much to the chagrin of Jackson and his friends. A short time after the election, Clay was appointed Secretary of State and it was charged that he had

sold his influence to Adams for a position in the Cabinet. There was a good deal of talk about a "corrupt bargain" between Adams and Clay, but there was no foundation for such a charge.

Death of Monroe. President Monroe was sixty-seven years of age when he laid down the cares of his office. He lived for six years after his retirement and died on Independence Day, 1831, in New York. He was buried there with all the honors befitting an Ex-President of the United States. In 1858, on the one hundredth anniversary of his birth, his ashes were removed to Richmond with military honors, and there buried in the soil of his native state.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Why was this period called "The Era of Good Feeling"?
2. Why should the United States extend its protection, in the Monroe Doctrine, over South and Central America?
3. What was the Holy Alliance?
4. Why did the United States fear the influence of the Alliance?
5. What was the occasion for the Monroe Doctrine?
6. What President previous to Monroe had voiced a somewhat similar sentiment?
7. Read Washington's Farewell Address with this thought in mind.
8. Why was the purchase of Florida important?
9. What causes led to the downfall of the Federalist party?
10. Trace on the map the northern tour of President Monroe.

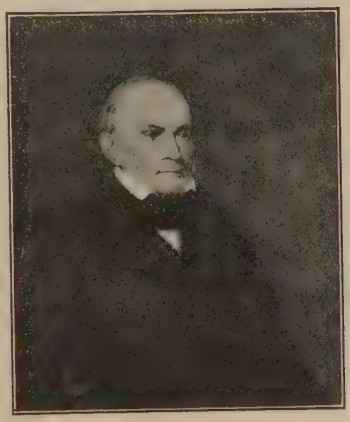
REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

1. Hart, "Formation of the Union," 223–244.
2. Wilson, "The Presidents of the United States," 107–119 (Monroe).
3. Higginson and MacDonald, "History of the United States," 363–385.

CHAPTER XVIII

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS AND THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT, 1825–1829

THE era of good feeling soon passed away. It had been rudely disturbed by the "scrub race for the presidency," which stirred up a large amount of bitter feeling. The friends of Jackson claimed that their candidate was really the people's choice in 1824, but that he had been beaten out of the office by trickery and underhanded work. They therefore sought revenge, and Adams was hardly seated in the presidential chair before plans were laid to defeat him for a second term.



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

After retiring from the presidency, Adams was, for many years, a member of the House of Representatives from Massachusetts. During this period he became known as "The Old Man Eloquent" and as a vigorous opponent of slavery. He was one of the ablest of American Presidents.

Adams Seemed an Ideal President. When John Quincy Adams became President he seemed to be the ideal man for the place. He had been graduated from Harvard College and had studied in one of the European universities. Later he became a distinguished lawyer and statesman. He also had strong personal qualities. He was a fearless champion of what seemed to him to be right, a splendid speaker and an excellent writer in both prose and verse. In addition to this he had had a large and successful experience in public affairs. He had been a foreign minister, a United

States senator, and a Cabinet officer. In public life he had shown himself to be a broad-minded man of untiring industry. He was a "knight without fear and without reproach." It is safe to say that no other man in America, in 1825, possessed in an equal degree the characteristics of an ideal President.

The Development of the West. The "Westward Movement" was the most prominent feature of the Adams administration.

MIGRATING FROM CONNECTICUT TO OHIO

A steady stream of people from Europe and the Atlantic coast was pouring into the West at this time. Indiana, Michigan, Arkansas, and Illinois were then the "far West" and were filling up very rapidly. Many people of the time thought that the land west of the Mississippi River was too far away to be controlled by the United States government. Robert Livingston, who had helped to make the Louisiana purchase, said that he thought a part of this territory would be sold again.

Internal Improvements. This westward movement caused a demand for better and easier modes of traveling. The railroad

had not yet come into use and the pioneer was compelled to make his way into the West over wagon roads and waterways. He often huddled his family into a covered wagon, somewhat like the "prairie schooner" of a later time, and set out to find a new home in the West. He carried food, a stove, and other cooking utensils and camped at night by the roadside, preparing his meal and eating it under the trees, and sleeping in his wagon or in the open air. Horses or oxen pulled the vehicle over the rough roads at a very slow pace, and cattle were driven ahead or tied behind.

An Emigrant Train Attacked by Indians

Sometimes rude boats upon the rivers furnished a more easy and comfortable journey. These were the days of the "jolly boatmen" who floated with song and laughter down the great rivers. One of them often sat on a stool or keg at the end of the long boat and scraped away upon a battered violin, while his companions joined in jigs and dances of various kinds.

The "family boat" carrying the pioneer and his family, together with horses, cattle, hogs, and other domestic animals, passed more quietly down stream. Now and then the noise and smoke of a pioneer steamer would startle an Indian in his wig-

wam, or scatter the deer from their feeding places along the river.

Traveling, on the whole, was painfully slow and difficult, and the demand came for the construction of roads and the improvement of waterways leading into the West. Right here a difference of opinion arose. Every one was in favor of better trans-

THE ERIE CANAL, 1825

The most important waterway of its kind in the United States. It was largely due to the energy of Governor De Witt Clinton of New York that the canal was pushed across the state from Albany and Troy to Buffalo, a distance of three hundred and sixty-three miles, a large part of it through a dense wilderness. The value of property along the line of the canal has greatly increased, and the state has received a large revenue from tolls.

portation facilities, but some thought that these improvements should be made by the various states or by private individuals, while others thought that Congress should appropriate money for this purpose. President Adams belonged to the second class. He saw the importance of these "internal improvements," as they were called, and in his inaugural address he urged Congress to appropriate money for the construction of roads and canals. About two and one-half millions of dollars were appropriated by Congress for internal improvements during this administration.

This fact has done much to connect Adams's administration with the westward movement.

The Erie Canal. In the meantime the states were not idle; some of them were building roads and canals on their own account. The most important undertaking of this kind was the construction of the Erie Canal by the state of New York. This canal

TRAVELING ON THE ERIE CANAL

extended from Buffalo to Albany, a distance of three hundred and sixty-three miles, and aided wonderfully in opening up and developing the West. It was completed in 1825, after eight years of the hardest kind of work, and it soon "reduced transportation charges to a little over one tenth their former figures." The Erie Canal is still an important highway of commerce, and costly improvements have recently been made upon it by the state of New York.

These canals, turnpikes, rivers, and other highways made

possible the great westward march of population which took place at this period. Wonderful changes occurred in a short space of time. The stream of immigration flooded the western country and soon flourishing towns were standing where Daniel Boone, Simon Kenton, and other backwoodsmen had seen, but a few years before, droves of tens of thousands of buffaloes at a single time licking the salt in valleys and on mountain sides.

A Buffalo Hunt on the Western Plains

The Tariff. In 1824 Congress had passed an act increasing the import duties about fifty per cent; and as there was a demand on the part of manufacturers for still greater protection from European competition, a new tariff act was framed and passed in 1828.

The line was now quite clearly drawn between advocates and opponents of a protective tariff. The North favored protection, while the South was opposed to it. The reason for this is plain. Manufacturing had come to be the most important industry in New England and was demanding protection from foreign competition. In the South, on the other hand, there were very few

factories, and the people opposed the tariff because it made them pay more for the manufactured goods which they bought.

The Act of 1828 is called the "Tariff of Abominations" because it had so many objectionable features. Many of the duties were exceedingly high. The duty on wool, for example, was raised from about thirty per cent to about seventy per cent. The measure undoubtedly did not meet with the approval of the people of the United States, and it is really difficult to see why President Adams signed such a bill; but he did. He was in favor of the protective system advocated by Henry Clay and probably hoped that the Act would be amended so as to remove some of its abominations. This was done at a later time.

The South Objects. The voice of the South was immediately raised against this tariff measure. Five states at once protested and John C. Calhoun became the spokesman of the opposition. He held that Congress had no right to pass such a bill and advised South Carolina to declare the Act "null and void within the limits of the state."

The Election of Andrew Jackson. In the fall of 1828 the presidential election came around again. Adams and Jackson were the opposing candidates. The issue was largely a personal one between the two men. There were no great governmental questions at stake. Men talked a great deal of the tariff and internal improvements, but no one really knew what Jackson thought in regard to either, and no one seemed to care. "Hurrah for Jackson," and "Turn the rascals out," were the winning war cries in 1828. Jackson swept the South and West and was elected over Adams by a vote of more than two to one.

The personality of Andrew Jackson was an important factor in the election. "Old Hickory," as he was affectionately called, was honest and upright in all his dealings. He may have lacked refinement and polish, but no one ever questioned his integrity or patriotism. When a boy of fourteen, he had fought against Great Britain in the Revolution; he had protected the frontier from Indian attacks; and had defeated the British at New Orleans

in the War of 1812. He was thus a great popular hero and the people rallied around his standard with enthusiasm.

The West in Politics. It should also be said that Jackson represented a new force in American politics. Up to this time the Presidents of the United States had been chosen from Virginia and Massachusetts. They represented the culture and the refinement of the seaboard. Jackson, the rough-and-ready son of the West, represented a new element. He stood for that western democracy which overwhelmed the aristocracy of the East.

New Political Parties. We have already seen that party lines vanished in the "era of good feeling." During the administration of Adams new parties were formed. The followers of Adams and Clay called themselves "National Republicans" while the Jackson men were known as "Democratic-Republicans," and later as "Democrats." The National Republicans may be looked upon in a general way as the descendants of the old Federalist party, while the Democrats represented the Republican party founded by Jefferson.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Did the Republicans favor or oppose the appropriation of money from the national treasury for internal improvements? What was the reason for this position?
2. Why was it that the South could not profit by a protective tariff?
3. What were the causes which led to Jackson's success in the campaign of 1828?
4. Take the map and trace the principal routes over which people migrated to the West.
5. Read Elizabeth Whittier's poem "John Quincy Adams," and Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Life on a Canal Boat."

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

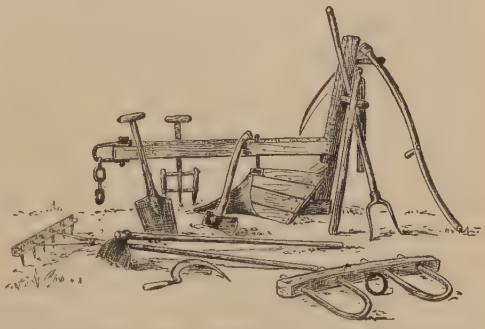
1. Hart, "Formation of the Union," 245–262.
2. Sparks, "The Men who made the Nation," 225–281 (Clay).
3. Higginson and MacDonald, "History of the United States," 386–410 (Adams and the Westward Movement).

CHAPTER XIX

THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW NATION, 1789–1829

Before taking up the next presidential administration, let us study for a short time the industrial and intellectual growth of the nation from the time of Washington to that of Andrew Jackson.

Agriculture. Agriculture was then, as in colonial times, the most important industry in the United States. In the early part of this period, however, agricultural methods were of the most slovenly and wasteful kind. The Indian was almost as good a farmer as the white man. The early pioneer killed the forest trees, Indian fashion, by girdling them, and then broke the ground with rude implements and planted corn, wheat, and other crops. After a time the dead trunks were cut down, rolled into piles, and burned in order to get them out of the way.



Farm Tools in Use in the United States about 1790

The tools were few in number and clumsy of construction. Great strength was necessary to use them.

In the South cotton and tobacco were grown year after year upon the same piece of land until the soil was completely exhausted. Manures and other fertilizers were not used, as it was cheaper to abandon the worn-out soil and take up new land.

The tools of the farmer were rude, clumsy, and very few in

number. They were also quite expensive. The plow, one of the most important of the farm implements, had a wooden mold-board and was very awkward and hard to manage. It was also easily broken among the roots and stumps. In 1797 a cast-iron plow was invented, but the farmers of the time refused to use it, because they said the iron would poison the soil and kill the crops. A few years later (1825), when the farmers became more enlightened, a cast-iron plow came into use and marked a new era in American agriculture. The mold-board was greatly improved as a result of suggestions made by Thomas Jefferson.

A cradle for the cutting of grain was invented in 1803, and was a vast improvement over the little sickle which had been in use up to that time.

Live Stock. The raising of live stock was an important part of the business of the pioneer farmer. He raised horses to do his work, and cattle, sheep, and hogs to supply food and clothing for himself and family. When he raised more than he needed for his own use, he sent the surplus to an eastern market. As early as 1805 a drove of fat cattle was driven from the Ohio over the mountains to Baltimore.

Farmers also began to take a pride in the kind of cattle which they raised. Fine breeds such as Durhams, Short Horns, and Herefords were imported into this country at an early time, and fairs and other live-stock shows were held as early as 1810.

Hogs were easy to raise and were a source of great profit. They fattened upon acorns and other nuts which grew in great abundance in the forests. Early travelers in the West sometimes met four or five thousand hogs in a single drove on the way to an eastern market.

Patents. The agricultural and manufacturing industries of a country cannot be developed to any great extent without the use of labor-saving machinery. In order to encourage the invention of such machines, the United States government gives to the inventor the exclusive right to manufacture and sell his machine for a period of seventeen years. This right is called a patent.

At the end of seventeen years, if the patent is not renewed, any one may manufacture the machine and offer it for sale. The number of patents which were granted during the early national period is a fairly good indication of the progress which was being made in agriculture and manufacturing. In the early part of this period, the government granted on an average seventy-seven patents each year. At the close of the period the average was five hundred and forty-four. The list contains small tools, farm implements and various other kinds of labor saving machines. These inventions aided wonderfully in the industrial progress of the nation.

The Steam Engine, 1769. One of the most important inventions ever made in any country was the steam engine. It would be impossible to make very much progress in manufacturing or transportation without the use of steam power. If the locomotives were taken off our railroads and steam engines out of our factories, imagine what the result would be.

James Watt, an Englishman, had invented the steam engine in 1769, but it was not much used in America until the early part of the next century. It is said that there were only three steam engines in the United States in 1803, and of course there were no locomotives at all.

Manufacturing. Next to agriculture, manufacturing was the most important industry. In colonial times, as we have already seen (page 110), almost everything was made in the household by hand. At a later time, machines came into use and factories were built. The greatest progress was made in the textile or cloth-making industries. The reason for this is that a remarkable series of inventions had been made in England and were later brought to the United States. At first the spinning of yarn was a very slow process, a single thread being made at a time. An English weaver, however, invented a machine which spun the yarn much more rapidly. This machine he called the "spinning jenny," in honor of his wife. A little later the old hand-loom gave way to a power-loom and the weaving of cloth was also done with great rapidity.

England and the Inventions. England tried to keep these labor-saving machines to herself. She saw their importance and passed laws prohibiting their exportation. It was also illegal to send or carry out of the country any plans or drawings from which these machines could be made. The English government also tried to prevent skilled workmen from going to other countries. In spite of all these efforts, however, the new machinery was soon in use in the United States. Factories were established in important cities, and grist-mills, sawmills, cotton mills, and woolen mills dotted the streams of the United States.

THE FIRST MILL IN OHIO
Wolf Creek Mills, 1789.

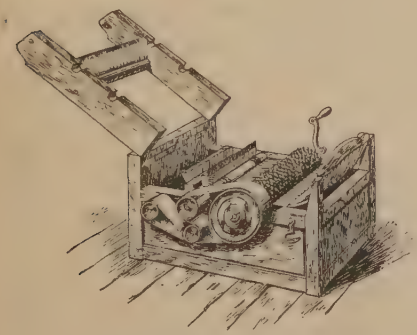
Slater's Mill. A good example of the way in which these inventions came to the United States is found in Slater's mill. The first complete cotton mill in this country was set up at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1789, by an Englishman named Samuel Slater. Slater made all of the machinery used in this factory from memory, as he was not allowed to bring over machines or plans from England. Slater has been well called the "Father of American Manufactures."

Cotton Manufacturing. Although the first cotton mill in the United States was established in the first year of Washington's administration, the business of cotton manufacturing did not amount to much until after the invention of the cotton-gin by Eli Whitney in 1793. The reason is this: the seed of the cotton clings to the fiber and must be removed before the cotton can be used. At first this was done by hand and was an exceedingly slow process. Not more than five or six pounds could be cleaned

by a man in a day. Eli Whitney, a graduate of Yale College, had gone to Georgia to teach school and had seen the difficulties under which cotton was raised. He at once set himself to invent a machine by which the cotton could be cleaned more quickly. The result was the cotton-gin, by which a man could clean a thousand pounds of cotton in a day and do the work better than it was done by hand. The first cotton-gin was propelled by a hand crank, but at a later time horse power, water power, and then steam power were applied, and now cotton is ginned in the South with wonderful rapidity.

THE REGIONS OF COTTON GROWING AND OF MANUFACTURES

The principle of Whitney's machine was a very simple one. By turning a crank, a series of saw-like teeth drew the fiber of the cotton through holes which were too small to allow the seed to pass through. In this way the seed was scraped off and the cotton cleaned.



WHITNEY'S COTTON-GIN

Cotton Culture Increased. Almost immediately after Whitney's invention was made, the amount of cotton grown in the United States was greatly increased and the business became exceedingly profitable.

Slave labor was also in very great demand for the cotton fields, and one result of Whitney's invention was to give slavery a new

lease of life in the South. It was gradually dying out before the invention was made, and would probably have disappeared entirely in the course of a few decades.

Cotton Mills. An increase in the amount of cotton raised naturally caused an increase in the number of cotton mills. In 1803 there were only four cotton mills in the United States, but after that time the number increased quite rapidly and busy factory towns such as Fall River, Lowell, and Lawrence sprang up on the rivers of New England and adjoining states.

Wool Manufactures. The manufacture of woolen cloth was also carried on quite extensively in this period. Many of the great inventions which were used in the manufacture of cotton were also useful in the making of woolen goods. By the use of labor-saving machinery, the cost of weaving a yard of broadcloth was reduced from fifty cents to fifteen cents. Woolen mills were set up in various parts of the country, but more particularly in New England. The woolen industry did not grow so rapidly as the cotton industry, because the raw material was scarcer. It was easier to raise cotton in the field than it was to grow wool upon the backs of sheep.

Iron Manufacture. A great many of our industries are dependent upon the use of iron. Gold and silver are called the precious metals, but iron is certainly the most useful one. If we were to take iron out of our industries at the present time, what would remain?

Iron furnaces were set up in the United States at an early date, and wood and charcoal were at first used for smelting. The business, however, did not make very much progress until the introduction of the use of anthracite coal about 1840.

Use of Anthracite Coal. The anthracite or hard coal, which we now prize so highly, was considered almost worthless a century ago. The first boat load of "stone coal," as it was then called, was brought to Philadelphia in 1803, and the people said that it was good for nothing but to "gravel foot-walks." It seemed almost impossible to start the hard lumps to burning. A

Pennsylvania blacksmith, however, Joseph Smith by name, and the inventor of the iron plowshare, succeeded in getting the coal to burn freely. He built a grate, placed the coal upon it and thus made a strong draft and a hot fire. Soon after this, hard coal was used extensively in the smelting furnace and caused a revolution in the iron business.

Humble Inventions. While studying the history of great industries such as cotton, wool, and iron manufacturing, we should not lose sight of the many little humble inventions which have made life more easy and pleasant. Eli Terry, for instance, made the first American clock. He whittled out its rude wooden wheels with a pocket knife at the cost of much labor and patience. Brass clocks were introduced in 1821. The sewing machine, a wonderful labor-saving device, was invented in 1818, and the shoe-peg came into use in the same year. The friction match, which displaced the old flint and steel of early times, was invented in 1827.

Commerce. Commerce naturally follows agriculture and manufacturing, as men must find a market for their surplus products. Some of this trade was with other parts of the United States, and some of it with Europe and other foreign countries. In many instances American products were carried great distances. As early as the latter part of the eighteenth century, the United States was carrying on an important trade with China and the East. It was no easy matter to make a voyage half-way around the globe with the small ships and crude instruments then in use; yet many such voyages were successfully made by American sailors. In one instance, a boy of nineteen took a ship from Calcutta to Boston, with no chart to guide him except a small map of the world torn from a school geography of the time. These ships brought tea, coffee, muslin, silk, and other valuable products from the East.

There was also a valuable commerce with the West Indies. In return for agricultural products of all kinds the American trader brought back molasses, rum, sugar, wine, pepper, coffee, cotton, tobacco, and a long list of other things.

Ship-building. Commerce, however, cannot be carried on without ships, and ship-building early became an important industry in the United States. Many men were also engaged in whale and cod fisheries, and these industries increased the demand for good sailing vessels. The American ship carpenter became very skillful, and many fine sailing vessels were made in New England and Philadelphia. The forests also produced an abundance of ship-building timber of the very best kind.

The Westward Movement. We have already seen (page 250) that there was a large migration of people to the West during the administration of John Quincy Adams. It should be borne in mind, however, that this westward movement was by no means confined to a single administration. The movement began immediately after the Revolution and even took place to some slight extent before that time. It continued for about a century, or until all of the new land in the West was taken up. The rush to the new country was quite remarkable. "During the latter half of 1787 more than 900 boats floated down the Ohio, carrying 18,000 men, women, and children, and 12,000 horses, sheep, and cattle, and 650 wagons."

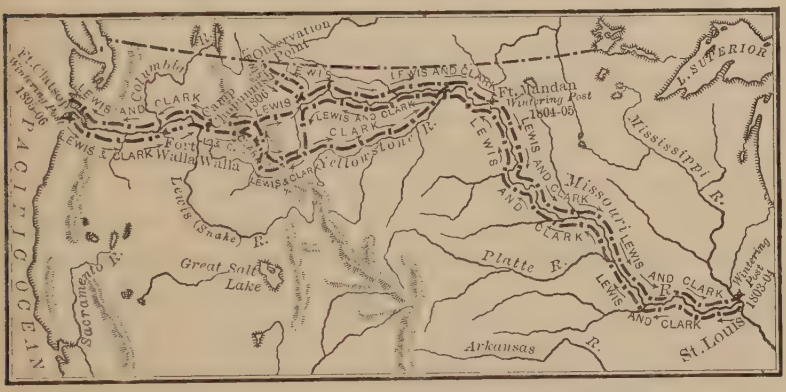
The Ohio River was a very popular route into the interior, and has been called "the great artery through which the life blood of the nation was driven into the new West." Everybody seemed to be moving west. If a man was too poor to go with horses and wagons or to take passage upon a river boat, he set out on foot. It was no uncommon sight in those days to see a man headed for the West with his entire baggage in a hand-cart and his family following, sometimes barefooted, in the rear. "All America," said a writer in 1817, "seems to be breaking up and moving westward."

This westward march of the people is the most important event in the industrial history of the nineteenth century. It is also the most characteristic event in the period which we are now studying. "Westward the course of empire takes its way."

The Farther West. While speaking of the westward move-

ment, we should bear in mind that at this time the land from the Great Lakes to the Pacific Ocean — two thirds of the present area of the United States — was an almost unbroken Indian country. Here "the wild flowers and grasses grew rank and undisturbed."

The Exploration of the West. While we are beholding this tide of immigration which is flooding the West, we should not lose sight of the men who prepared the way. We should remember that the power of the Indian was broken in the Middle West by William Henry Harrison and Andrew Jackson. We should



THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION FROM ST. LOUIS

also bear in mind the fact that the far West was explored by men just as venturesome and as hardy as were the explorers who followed in the wake of Columbus. Such men were Merriwether Lewis, William Clark, and Zebulon Pike.

Expedition of Lewis and Clark. When Louisiana was purchased in 1803, not much was known about that great territory. There were immense areas of it into which a white man had never penetrated and some parts of it were little known even to the Indian. Preparations were accordingly made to send an exploring expedition into the very heart of this new country. President Jefferson was heartily in favor of the project and did much to make it succeed. In May, 1804, Lewis and Clark, two hardy, brave, and

venturesome explorers, started up the Missouri River from St. Louis. They spent their first winter in Mandan, now in North Dakota, where they built a rude log fort from which the Stars and Stripes proudly floated. In the following spring they pushed on over the mountains until they reached the head waters of the Columbia River. They then floated down this river to the Pacific Ocean. In making their way over the mountains, they were obliged to follow Indian trails and in some cases to hew out entirely new paths. They encountered great difficulties and dangers and suffered many hardships while on their journey.

Pike's Expedition. In the same year (1804) another expedition under Zebulon Pike, an army officer, started up the Mississippi from St. Louis. Pike pushed on almost to the source of the great river and unfurled an American flag over a British trading post at Leach Lake, in the northern part of what is now Minnesota.

In the following year Pike made another important expedition. This time he pushed straight west from St. Louis until he reached Pike's Peak in the Rocky Mountains. From that place he made his way south to the famous old Spanish town of Santa Fé.

The work of Lewis, Clark, and Pike was of great importance in blazing the way through this unknown western country. They were the pathfinders for a civilization which was soon to follow. They wrote down many notes of their observations in this wild country and their journals are of almost priceless value.

Western Settlements. Let us try to picture to ourselves a home in this western wilderness. After the settler had reached his destination and had purchased a tract of land or had taken possession of it without purchase, as was often the case, he proceeded to build his home. He cut the trees away from a small piece of ground and selected some of the best and straightest of the timber for his log hut. After getting the logs ready with his axe, he had what was called a "raising," — that is, he gathered together a few neighbors, if such could be found, and with their help he put his cabin together. The only pay which his helpers received was the prospect of being assisted in a similar way at

some future time. The early settlers usually had a jolly time at these raisings and often indulged to excess in strong drink.

Having housed himself and family, the settler was then ready to make preparations for cultivating the soil. The trees around the cabin were killed by girdling, and corn and other vegetables were planted. At a later time when he wished to clear off the land more rapidly he cut down the trees, trimmed away the limbs, and then chopped up the trunks into logs of convenient lengths. Some of these logs were split into rails for fences, but most of them were rolled up into piles and burned. For this purpose the pioneer again called his neighbors together and a jolly "log-rolling" was the result.

The western settler was usually a strong, self-reliant character, but in some cases he was shiftless and lazy. He sometimes preferred hunting, fishing, or trapping to the more serious business of farming. He had few opportunities for education, religious development, or refinement of any kind, although log schoolhouses were constructed here and there at an early time, and the circuit-riding minister soon appeared.

Western Towns. As other settlers came into the neighborhood, they built their houses in little clusters on the bank of some stream or lake, and there the little town sprang up. The gristmill, sawmill, blacksmith shop, and a general store, usually containing the post-office, when there was one, were the most important parts of the new town.

Here the little community lived almost entirely shut in from the outside world. The people were cut off from the Atlantic coast cities and were compelled to raise their own food and to make most of their manufactured products. Most of their agricultural products were disposed of by being placed on shipboard and sent down the Mississippi to New Orleans.

Freight from the East. Some tools, implements, and other manufactured goods were still supplied from the East. Freight came from the Atlantic seaboard on river boats and in large covered wagons drawn by several spans of horses. Progress was

slow, both on the river and the road. It took a wagon load of freight twenty days at this time to go from Philadelphia to Pittsburg. The journey is now made by rail in a few hours.

Cities and Posts. Many trading posts were established in this western country which have since developed into prosperous cities. Fort Dearborn, where the city of Chicago now stands, was established in 1803; Buffalo and Detroit were mere villages. Chicago and Milwaukee were trading stations in the midst of an Indian country. About 1830 St. Louis had a population of six

CONESTOGA WAGON

This was the kind of wagon used for carrying freight across the Alleghenies to the Ohio and Mississippi valleys before the introduction of the railroad. One of these wagons would carry from four to six tons, and the rate from Philadelphia to Pittsburg was $40 per ton. It took about twenty days to make the journey between these two cities. The wagons were so called because they were extensively used in the Conestoga Valley, Pennsylvania.

thousand people, and Cincinnati, the "queen city of the West," with twenty-five thousand people, was second only to New Orleans in the Mississippi Valley.

Transportation. The building of factories, the development of commerce, and the opening of the West naturally made a great demand for transportation facilities. The history of transportation in the United States is an interesting study. At first the pioneer had to be contented with the narrow Indian trail and the waterway. He then cut down trees and widened the trail into a dirt road. At a later time he covered the surface of the road with stone or gravel and made a turnpike road.

Then the canal was constructed, and the steamboat appeared upon the rivers and Great Lakes. At a later time railroads were built and more recently still, electric lines have come into use.

Land Travel. The large part of the freight and passenger traffic in those days was carried on over land. Before the railroad came into use in 1830, the stage-coach was the principal means of land travel. This coach was a heavy, clumsy, and uncomfortable box-like affair. It had no glass windows, but was supplied with leather curtains to be drawn down in stormy weather. These rude coaches, drawn by bony horses, in harness made of rope,

TRAVELING IN THE DAYS OF THE STAGE-COACH

lumbered along at the rate of forty miles a day in summer and twenty-five in winter. The day, however, began at three o'clock in the morning and lasted until ten o'clock at night.

In many cases the passengers were obliged to get out and push in order to get the coach out of the mud. Miry spots of quicksand were marked by stakes to warn travelers to avoid them, and sometimes it was necessary to take a circuit through the fields over an entirely new course.

There were no bridges over the large rivers. The stage-coach crossed on the ice in winter and on rude ferry-boats or rafts in summer. When the ice was breaking up in the spring and when it was thin in the early winter, the crossing of the rivers was often a very dangerous undertaking. Taking it all in all, land travel in the United States before the building of railroads was an exceedingly tiresome and expensive process.

The Steamboat. The invention of the steamboat marks a new era in transportation. It helped very greatly in the opening of the western country, as it soon displaced the clumsy flatboats then in use. It was also much more comfortable and less expensive than the stage-coach.

FULTON STATUE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

This statue is located in Statuary Hall, in the National Capitol. Congress has requested each state to place statues of two of its illustrious citizens in this Hall, and the statue of Fulton was contributed by Pennsylvania, his native state. It stands next to the statue of Nathanael Greene, the Revolutionary hero.

Fulton's Steamboat. Robert Fulton was the first man to make a practical steamboat. People laughed at him and said that his plan was all nonsense. They nicknamed his boat "Fulton's Folly," and learned engineers said that he could never succeed in his undertaking. Mr. Latrobe, who was the leading engineer in the United States at the time, said in 1803 that the attempt to propel boats by steam power would certainly end in failure. He said that the engine and fuel would be too heavy and occupy too much space; that the motion of the engine would strain the boat and cause it to leak; that the expense of running the vessel would be too great and that the paddles or oars would be likely to break. He would probably open his eyes in astonishment if he could see a modern ocean steamer nearly one sixth of a mile long plowing the seas at the rate of twenty-five miles an hour, with four thousand people on board.

The Trial Trip. Fulton, however, persevered and, in 1807, ran his boat, the *Clermont*, from New York to Albany, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, in thirty-two hours. He had demonstrated the practicability of using steam power in navigation and his critics were silenced. At a later time he wrote:

"The morning I left New York there were not perhaps thirty persons in the city who believed that the boat would even move one mile per hour."

The use of the steamboat soon became widespread. In 1809 one appeared on Lake Champlain, and two years later saw one puffing on the Ohio River. In 1812 a steamer made the trip from Pittsburg to New Orleans, and a new era in transportation had begun.

FULTON'S "CLERMONT"

This picture represents an exact copy of Fulton's steamboat. It was built for the Hudson-Fulton celebration held in New York City in September, 1909, and made the trip from New York to Albany, stopping at various places on the way. Most of the passengers on board were dressed in the costume of Fulton's time.

The Steamboat in the West. The steamboat appeared on the western rivers very soon after the successful trip on the Hudson. Some difficulties, however, were found in navigating the Mississippi River, and it was not until 1816 that a boat was made strong enough to go up from New Orleans against the current. After this time steamboats multiplied rapidly and in 1830 there were two hundred of them on the western rivers. These boats could be built almost anywhere and could obtain an abundant supply of fuel along the banks of the rivers. Long trips were now begin-

ning to be made. In 1820 it took a steamer about thirty-five days to go from New Orleans to Pittsburg. It took only ten days to make the return trip.

The old flatboats were also in use. They could be floated down stream easily enough, but it was almost impossible to bring them back up against the current. So when the end of the journey was reached, they were usually broken up and sold for

THE STEAMSHIP "SAVANNAH"

This was the first steamer to cross the Atlantic Ocean. She sailed from Savannah in June, 1819, and reached Liverpool in eighteen days. She used steam power for only seven days on the trip. When about to enter St. George's Channel, near the coast of Ireland, the smoke from her funnel was spied by the commander of the British fleet, who, thinking the vessel on fire, sent two boats to her rescue. She was met by a large crowd at Liverpool and given an enthusiastic reception.

lumber. It took one of these flatboats about four months to go from St. Louis to New Orleans.

Sometimes these boats stopped at river towns and sold corn, pork, flour, whisky, cattle, chickens, plows, brooms, and many other things. Occasionally the boatmen were attacked by river pirates, and shots were frequently fired into their midst by Indians who skulked behind trees on the shore. However, the Indians

and pirates were not much worse than a crowd of burly boatmen when they landed at a town and became partly intoxicated.

The Steamboat on the Great Lakes. At about the same time, steamers appeared on the Great Lakes. In 1818 the first steamboat that ever floated on Lake Erie was launched. This boat was well named the *Walk-in-the-Water*.

The Erie Canal—An Important Highway of Commerce. The most important canal in the United States at the time of which we are speaking was the Erie Canal extending from Buffalo to Albany (page 253). It was begun in 1817 and finished in 1825, after eight years of the hardest kind of work. Its completion was celebrated with elaborate ceremonies at Buffalo and also at New York when the first boats arrived. A bottle of water was taken from Lake Erie and poured into the harbor of New York. It was then declared that the ocean and the western lake had been duly united in marriage. The Erie Canal was a great success, and in ten years its tolls and revenues had repaid the entire cost of construction.

The success of the Erie Canal encouraged similar undertakings in other parts of the United States. On July 4, 1828, President Adams pulled off his coat in the presence of a large company of people at Washington, and with a spade broke ground for the beginning of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal.

On the same day that President Adams was breaking ground in Washington for the canal, Charles Carroll was doing a similar service in Baltimore, forty miles away, for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. This road was the first one constructed in the United States and Mr. Carroll felt that he was taking part in a very important event. "I consider this," he said, "among the most important acts of my life, second only to my signing the Declaration of Independence, if even it be second to that."

Literary Progress. Progress in the United States during this period was not all of a material kind. Considerable literary advancement was made and the foundations of American literature were laid. During this period Washington Irving was writ-

ing of the scenes on the Hudson River, James Fenimore Cooper was writing his fascinating stories of the Indian and the sea, and William Cullen Bryant was producing some of the best of his poetical writings. These three men may be looked upon as the founders of American literature.

Washington Irving, 1783-1859. Washington Irving was the first American author to receive recognition in Europe. In 1820 Sidney Smith, a British writer, sneeringly remarked: "Who reads an American book?" Only a short time after this remark was made, the writings of Irving were read and greatly appreciated in Smith's own country.

Irving was born in New York on the day that General Washington took possession of that city. Sixty years later he finished his greatest literary work, "A Life of Washington," in five large volumes.

It is not, however, for his historical writings that Irving is best known. It is for his sketches of old Dutch life and Hudson River traditions that he is most lovingly remembered. Thousands of persons have read with pleasure the "Legend of Sleepy Hollow" and the story of Rip Van Winkle. "There is no finer character sketch in all literature than that lovable old vagabond, Rip, as he goes slouching through the village, his arms full of children, a troop of dogs at his heels, and the shrill pursuing voice of Dame Winkle dying away in the distance."

James Fenimore Cooper, 1789-1851. Cooper, the first great American novelist, was born in the year that Washington was inaugurated the first time. He spent his boyhood days on the shores of Oswego Lake (New York) on the edge of an almost boundless forest. Here he lived in close communion with nature. He tramped through the forests with hunters, trappers, and Indian fighters and listened to their tales of forest life and adventure.

After attending Yale College for three years he went to sea, and was later a sailor on Lake Ontario, which was then surrounded by primeval forests.

This course of training prepared him to write his stories of adventure on land and sea. He was a splendid story teller and more intensely American in his ideas than Irving.

He began his literary career in a rather peculiar way. He had led a somewhat aimless life after retiring from the sea, and was one day reading an English novel which did not please him. He turned to his wife and said, "I believe I could write a better story myself." His wife dared him to try it, and he did so. The result was a failure, but his second story, "The Spy," a tale of the American Revolution, was a great success.

The mere titles of his stories give one a good idea of their general character. He wrote "The Pilot," "The Pioneers," "The Last of the Mohicans," "The Pathfinder," "The Deerslayer," "The Red Rover," "The Pirates," and a number of other stories relating to the Indian and to life in the wilderness and on the sea.

William Cullen Bryant, 1794-1878. Bryant was the first great American poet. Like Cooper, he was a student of nature. He loved to walk in the "pathless woods." When a young man of twenty-two, while climbing a hill at sunset, he saw a waterfowl "darkly painted on the crimson sky." That night he wrote one of his most famous poems entitled, "To a Waterfowl."

Several years before this time, when he was but seventeen years of age, he wrote his poem entitled, "Thanatopsis." This poem is in some ways the best of all his writings, and has been pronounced "the greatest poem ever written by so young a man."

Other Writers. While speaking of these three great authors, we should not neglect to mention a few other writers of this period. John Howard Payne, of Long Island, will always be remembered for "Home Sweet Home," which has been sung tens of thousands of times the world over. It was during this period also that Samuel Woodworth of Massachusetts wrote "The Old Oaken Bucket." Joseph Rodman Drake, a young physician who died in 1820 at the age of twenty-five, wrote that inspiring and

patriotic poem entitled, "The American Flag," which begins, "When Freedom from her mountain height." Drake was a fine spirit and would probably have made his mark in literature if his life had been spared. It was of him that the poet Halleck wrote:

"Green be the turf above thee,
Friend of my better days;
None knew thee but to love thee,
Nor named thee but to praise."

General Progress. Considerable progress was also made during this period along other lines. Life in the cities was made safer and more healthful. The streets of New York and Philadelphia were lighted by gas, and crime was greatly diminished. The condition of the prisons was very much improved and the inmates were treated in a more humane manner. The poor and other unfortunate classes were better cared for; schools and colleges were increased in number and the quality of instruction given was very greatly improved.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Explain the importance of the Erie Canal.
2. Make a sketch of a canal lock and show how it works.
3. Show how the Erie Canal was a benefit to the East and the West.
4. Account for the fact that there are so many grain elevators in Buffalo.
5. Read a story from Irving's "Sketch Book," one of Cooper's novels, and Bryant's "Thanatopsis," and "To a Water Fowl."

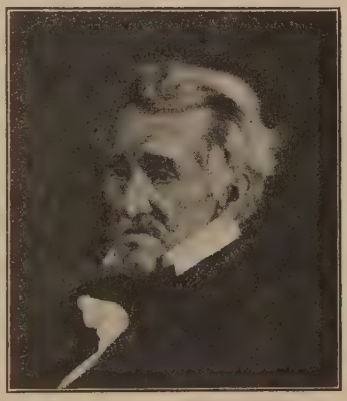
REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

Coman's "Industrial History of the United States," and Bogart's "Economic History of the United States," will be found useful in connection with the study of this chapter.

CHAPTER XX

JACKSON AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 1829-1841

A New National Era. With the administration of Andrew Jackson, a new era in American history begins. Jackson's election meant the triumph of the West over the East. It was felt that the "plain people" had at last come into possession of the government. These plain people also came from all parts of the United States to witness the inauguration of their great leader. A writer of the time has put it on record that they overturned bowls of punch and smashed glasses and climbed with muddy cow-hide boots upon the beautiful, upholstered furniture in order to get a glimpse of their hero. Daniel Webster wrote as follows on the day of Jackson's inauguration: "To-day we have had the inauguration. A monstrous crowd of people is in the city. I never saw anything like it before. People have come five hundred miles to see General Jackson, and they really seem to think that the country is rescued from some frightful danger."



ANDREW JACKSON

"Old Hickory," "The Hero of New Orleans," and the frontier statesman and Indian fighter, was born in North Carolina in 1767 and died in Tennessee in 1845.

New Statesmen. The older statesmen, who had drafted the Constitution and put it into operation, had for the most part passed away. Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, and John Adams

were dead, and Madison and Monroe no longer took an active part in politics. The leading men of the new era were Andrew Jackson, the frontier statesman and hero of New Orleans, Martin Van Buren, the polished gentleman and shrewd politician, Henry Clay, "the mill boy of the slashes" and noted compromiser, and John C. Calhoun and Daniel Webster, great orators and students of the Constitution.

The "Spoils System." The new era also brought new political methods. The "spoils system," as it is called, sprang up at this time. Before Jackson's administration, faithful and capable men were kept in office for the most part without regard to the political party to which they belonged; but now there came a great change. Many of the men who had been in office for a long time were suspected, in most cases without good reason, of being dishonest, and the cry was raised, "Turn the rascals out." Then, too, Jackson and his friends believed in the doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils." They believed that the offices, with their salaries, should be given as rewards to the men who had helped to elect a new President. Jackson therefore made a "clean sweep" by turning out most of the government officers and putting new men in their places. It is only fair to say, however, that in making these wholesale removals Jackson was following a practice already in use in some of the states.

Evils of the Spoils System. Many evil results have come from the spoils system. In the first place, it is wrong in principle to remove capable and experienced officers every few years and to put men without experience in their places. It is not good business common sense. A merchant or a manufacturer would not think of conducting his business in that way.

Again, in making these numerous appointments, President Jackson made many serious mistakes. He could not know personally the thousands of men who were candidates for the offices and was compelled to rely largely upon the advice of others. He was deceived in many cases and made some very bad appointments. The result was that, although the President was himself

absolutely honest, there were some scandals connected with his administration.

The worst feature of the whole matter was that the spoils system did not end with Jackson's administration. Succeeding Presidents followed Jackson's example and the spoils system has continued to some extent even to the present day. In recent times, however, the civil service laws have given some protection to capable and honest office-holders. These laws provide that appointments to certain offices shall be made only upon examination, and that office-holders shall not be removed for merely political reasons. This is the so-called "merit system," and its use has tended to purify our politics to a great degree. It no longer seems to us to be good policy to have a new set of officers every four years.

Other Changes in the Government. In addition to the spoils system, the administration of Jackson marks the introduction of several other notable changes in our government.

The use of the veto power was enlarged. Preceding Presidents had vetoed measures passed by Congress only when they considered them unconstitutional. Jackson vetoed bills which he considered unwise, even though they were in harmony with the Constitution.

The President became an independent leader. He dominated the whole government and ignored his Cabinet. When in need of advice, instead of calling a Cabinet meeting, he consulted a few intimate friends whom the newspapers called the "Kitchen Cabinet." Men of the time referred to the regular Cabinet as the "Cabinet proper," and to the Kitchen Cabinet as the "Cabinet improper."

Under Jackson's leadership, as we shall see presently, the Union idea grew stronger; and during his presidency the nominating convention and the "platform" were used for the first time.

Before this, nominations were made by congressional caucuses and by state legislatures. Now the national convention was

introduced. The same plan is in use to-day. Delegates from all the states and territories assemble in some convenient city for the purpose of nominating candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency.

The party platform also came into use in Jackson's time. It is now customary for political parties, when assembled in conventions, to pass resolutions expressing their opinions on important political questions of the day. These resolutions constitute the "platform" upon which the party stands. Both of these devices tend to give the *people* a larger control over the government.

Jackson's Views. What changes will the new President make in the government? What are his views on the great questions of the day? These were the inquiries which every one was making. The Democratic party had come into power without any definite platform, but every one knew that Jackson had a mind of his own, and that his views on public questions could not long remain unknown. It soon became evident that Jackson was in favor of a strict construction of the Constitution, as Jefferson had been, and, as a result of this view, was opposed to national aid for internal improvements, to a protective tariff, and to the United States bank. These three important problems took a large part of his attention during his eight years of office.

Nullification and the Tariff. An old and important question had been left over from the preceding administration. It will be remembered that "The Tariff of Abominations" was passed in the administration of John Quincy Adams (page 255). Some of the duties were very high and the South protested against the law. Agriculture was the main business of the South and that section was not interested in protecting the factories of New England and the North.

South Carolina took the lead in opposing the tariff and John C. Calhoun was the leader of South Carolina. He insisted that the law should not go into effect. He said that any law passed

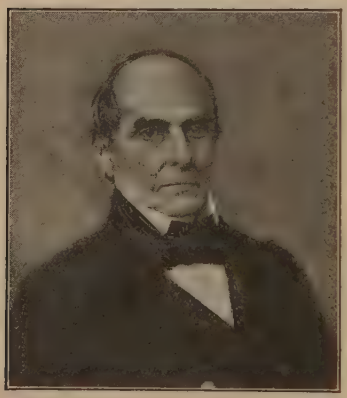
by Congress might be declared null and void by any state that considered the law contrary to the Constitution. This was the doctrine known as "Nullification." It was making some headway and its advocates hoped to induce the President to declare himself in its favor. In this hope they were sadly disappointed. On April 13, 1830, a number of political leaders met at a banquet to celebrate the birthday of Thomas Jefferson. In the course of the speeches several of the men approved the doctrine of nullification. When it came General Jackson's turn to speak, he boldly announced as his toast, "The Federal Union; it must be preserved." This staggered the nullifiers. It was plain that the President would not allow any state to set aside the laws of the United States. It was also plain that Jackson was not a man to be trifled with. A member of Congress from South Carolina asked him one day if he had any message to send to the people of that state. To this, Jackson replied, "Yes, I have; please give my compliments to my friends in your state, and say to them that if a single drop of blood shall be shed there in opposition to the laws of the United States, I will hang the first man I can get my hands on, engaged in such treasonable conduct, upon the first tree I can reach." There was no doubt as to where the President stood, and in his bold and positive stand he did a great service

JOHN C. CALHOUN

Born in South Carolina in 1782, died in Washington, D. C., in 1850. He was of Irish ancestry. He favored the War of 1812, was Congressman, Secretary of War, Vice-President, Secretary of State, advocate of the doctrine of nullification, defender of slavery and states rights and the interests of the South as he understood them.

for the cause of the Union. Jackson did not favor a protective tariff, but he did favor the enforcement of law.

The Great Debate. While this contest over nullification was in progress, there took place (January, 1830) the greatest debate that ever occurred in the American Congress. It was between Robert Y. Hayne, of South Carolina, and Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts. It lasted for several days, and the people flocked to Washington from all parts of the United States to hear the great orators.



DANIEL WEBSTER

Webster is considered one of the greatest of American orators. He was a graduate of Dartmouth College, a famous lawyer, a Senator, and Secretary of State. He is best known as "The Expounder of the Constitution." The oration delivered on the laying of the corner-stone of the Bunker Hill Monument is considered one of his best.

Mr. Hayne insisted that the Constitution was a mere "compact" formed by sovereign states, and intimated that any state might withdraw from the compact whenever it wanted to. He also held that a state had the right to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional and therefore null and void.

Webster replied to these views in one of the greatest speeches ever delivered in the English language. He said that the Constitution was not a compact, and insisted that the Union could not be dissolved. "There can be no secession without revolution." He also denied the right of a state to nullify a law of Congress. He said that the Supreme Court, and not the states, had the right to declare a law of Congress unconstitutional. He closed with these well-known words: "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable." Hayne's view is usually called the "compact theory" of the Constitution, and Webster's the "national theory." The matter was finally decided by the Civil War, when Webster's view was adopted by the nation.

South Carolina and the other southern states should not be blamed too much on account of their doctrine of nullification. New England's conduct in the Hartford Convention of 1814 was just as blameworthy. The fact is that nullification had been advocated in many states, North as well as South, before this date. It should also be remembered that the doctrine was not so objectionable in 1830 as it would be now. The times have changed. National spirit and love for the Union have grown steadily stronger. Webster's splendid speeches and Jackson's emphatic stand in regard to nullification did much toward developing this national spirit.

Another change was now made in the tariff. A great many people outside of South Carolina did not like "The Tariff of Abominations," and Congress passed a new law in 1832, to go into effect on March 3, 1833.

This made South Carolina and Mr. Calhoun more angry than ever. The new tariff law did away with most of the abominations, but the South did not want any protective tariff law at all. Acting upon Calhoun's advice, South Carolina passed (November 24) the famous "Ordinance of Nullification." This ordinance declared the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 null and void within the limits of the state. It also prohibited the citizens of the state from paying any tariff duties after February 1, 1833. In addition to this, the Ordinance declared that South Carolina would withdraw from the Union if the Federal government attempted to enforce its tariff laws in that state. Things now began to look serious.

Jackson Becomes Active. While these things were taking place, Jackson was by no means idle. In the fall of 1832, while South Carolina was making her protests, he had been reëlected President of the United States over Henry Clay by a tremendous majority. He naturally concluded that the people approved his course, and so he kept up his fight against nullification. In the early part of November he had sent instructions to the collector of customs at Charleston to collect all of the tariff duties and to

use force in doing so if necessary; and now, when the Ordinance was passed by South Carolina, he issued a proclamation in which he denounced nullification as contrary to the Constitution of the United States; and, he added firmly, "the laws of the United States must be executed."

A little later he asked Congress to pass a law permitting him to use the army and navy of the United States to protect the collectors of revenue. Congress did so, and the "force bill," as it was called, became a law on March 2, 1833, one day before the new tariff law was to go into effect.

In the meantime the people were astir in South Carolina. Active preparations were being made for war, and the outlook was more serious than ever.

The Danger Averted. Just when it seemed that civil war was about to break out, a very fortunate settlement of the question took place. Henry Clay, who is known in American history as the "Great Compromiser," came forward and did a very useful piece of work. He advised Congress to pass a new law reducing some of the tariff duties. This was done and the law went into effect on March 2, 1833 — one day before the tariff law of 1832 was to become effective. This pleased South Carolina, and the Ordinance of Nullification was repealed soon after.

Jackson and the United States Bank. There was also a good deal of excitement in this administration over the United States bank. Jackson was a man of very strong likes and dislikes, and he disliked the United States bank as much as he liked the Federal Union. He considered it unconstitutional and looked upon it as the representative of the "money power" and as the enemy of the common people. So, when a bill was passed by Congress (1832) renewing the charter of the bank, Jackson promptly vetoed it on the ground that the bank was "an unnecessary, useless, expensive, un-American monopoly."

When the charter of the bank expired in 1836, the institution went out of existence as a United States bank, and was reorganized as a state bank under the laws of Pennsylvania.

Van Buren Elected President, 1836. The election of 1836 was not particularly interesting. A new party, the Whigs, appeared for the first time and nominated General William Henry Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe. Martin Van Buren, who was Vice-President at the time, was Jackson's choice and he was accordingly nominated by the Democrats. He was elected by a large majority, and his administration may be looked upon as a continuation of that of Jackson.

The Panic of 1837. President Van Buren began his work under very unfavorable conditions. The country was just on the verge of a period of "hard times," usually called a "panic" or a "crisis." Wild speculation, bad banking, and other things brought on the panic of 1837, one of the worst the United States has ever seen. Banks and business houses failed, and prices of food, clothing, and other necessaries of life reached exceedingly high figures. Flour was eleven dollars a barrel and corn one dollar and fifteen cents a bushel. Poor people found it very hard to make a living, and bread riots prevailed in New York.

The Election of 1840. Things did not go well with Van Buren. Some good laws were passed during his administration, but he suffered on account of many things for which he was really not to blame. When hard times come on, it is customary for the people to blame the President whether he has had anything to do with bringing them on or not. This was the case with Van Buren. Then again, the spoils system had led to scandals and again Van Buren was blamed. He was looked upon as the man who had brought the system from New York. On account of his skill in politics, he was called "The Little Magician," and the people were slow to trust him. As a matter of fact, a great injustice was done to Van Buren. He was really a very capable man, and would have given the country a good administration in more favorable circumstances.

The Democrats, however, nominated Van Buren and the Whigs chose William Henry Harrison. The campaign was picturesque and exciting — one of the most sensational that ever

occurred in the United States. It has been called "a huge frolic," and such it certainly was. The people did not seem to think very seriously about public questions, but turned out to political meetings in order to have a good time. Soon after the nomination of Harrison, an eastern paper remarked that he should not try to become President of the United States, but should content himself with his log cabin, coon skins, and hard cider. This statement played an important part in the campaign, and log cabins, coon skins, and kegs of cider were numerous at political gatherings. The Whigs sang:

"Farewell, dear Van,
You are not our man,
To guard the ship,
We'll try old Tip;"

and they voted as they sang. Harrison received about four times as many electoral votes as Van Buren.

This whole period of twelve years was dominated by the influence of Andrew Jackson. He was the most influential man of his time, and, in fact, the most influential man in American politics from the time of Jefferson to the Civil War. He was frequently referred to as "King Andrew," on account of the great influence which he exerted. After retiring from the presidency he went to his home in Tennessee, called the "Hermitage," and there became a planter. He died in 1845 at the age of seventy-seven.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Have nominating conventions in the United States been established by *law* or by *custom?*
2. When were the last national nominating conventions of the two large parties held? In what cities? Who were the nominees?
3. Read the latest platforms of the political parties.
4. Read selections from the speeches of Webster and Hayne.
5. Trace (using index) attempts made toward reform in the Civil Service. Mark passages and read in class.

6. Let one member of the class seek information in regard to the Civil Service — positions open, qualifications necessary, examinations, etc. Bring papers to class.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

1. Wilson, "Division and Reunion," 2–21 (A New Epoch); 23–92 (Jackson); 93–115 (Van Buren).
2. Sparks, "The Men who made the Nation," 282–317 (Jackson); 318–346 (Webster).
3. Wilson, "The Presidents of the United States," 137–168 (Jackson); 169–184 (Van Buren).

CHICAGO ABOUT 1830

CHAPTER XXI

SLAVERY AND THE MISSOURI STRUGGLE

Slavery and the Constitution. We must now notice the beginnings of the quarrel over slavery that led to the great Civil War between the North and the South. The Constitution recognized slavery in three ways: (1) It allowed three fifths of the slaves to be counted in determining the number of representatives. (2) It allowed the states to leave the slave trade open till 1808. (3) It provided that runaway slaves should be returned to their masters. When the Constitution was adopted slavery was disappearing in the North. It was looked upon as an evil in both sections, and it was generally expected that it would gradually die out in the South as well as in the North. Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, George Mason, — all these great southern leaders spoke against slavery.

Why Slavery Increased. By 1820 conditions had changed. In 1793 Eli Whitney invented the cotton-gin, a machine for separating the seed from the fiber of the cotton. With this machine one slave could do as much as two hundred could do before. The result was that cotton culture greatly increased, and slavery became more profitable in the South. Slave owners moved to new lands in the Southwest to raise cotton; the demand for slaves increased; slaves rose in value; and gradually the industries of the South came to depend on the slave labor system.

Slavery and the "Equilibrium." At the close of Washington's administration there were eight slave states and eight free states. Vermont had come from the North (1791) and Kentucky and Tennessee from the South (1792 and 1796). By 1819 three more free states had been admitted, Ohio in 1803, Indiana in

1816, and Illinois in 1818; also three more slave states, Louisiana in 1812, Mississippi in 1817, and Alabama in 1819. Therefore, the slave states and the free were still equal in number. It was thought important to preserve this "equilibrium" or "balance of power" between them. The line separating the slave states from the free was the southern boundary of Pennsylvania and the Ohio River. This was spoken of as Mason and Dixon's Line. North of this line population was increasing more rapidly than south of it. The result was that the free section had more congressmen than the slave section, and if the "equilibrium" were to be preserved it could be done only by keeping the slave states equal in number with the free states, so that in the Senate where the states vote equally they would have the same power. This idea or policy came to have great weight.

Slavery and Missouri. Slavery existed in Louisiana when the United States bought that territory in 1803, and afterwards slaveholders from the southern states were allowed to go to the new territory with their slaves. The state of Louisiana was admitted without any dispute about slavery, but it was soon seen that if nothing were done other slave states would be springing up in that vast region. In 1819 Missouri applied for admission. People from the South had been going there with their slaves, and they now wished Arkansas to be set off as a new territory and Missouri to be made into a state. It was clear that if Missouri were left alone, as Louisiana had been, she would choose to be a slave state. Northern men proposed that Missouri, before being admitted, should provide for gradually freeing her slaves, and in time becoming a free state. The northern men said that there ought to be no more slave states from the Louisiana purchase. They said slavery was a blight to a new land, worse than poisonous weeds or pestilence, and that such an evil ought to be restricted, as was originally intended by the framers of the Constitution. Moreover, northern people very much disliked allowing representation for three fifths of the slaves, especially in new states. In 1819 thirty-five thousand citizens were needed to elect a member of

Congress in a free state, but in a slave state, by allowing for three fifths of the slaves, twenty-five thousand citizens might elect a congressman. That is, five white persons in Virginia were given as much power as seven in Pennsylvania or Ohio. The North said this system was unjust and they were not willing to extend it by extending slavery. Although they had agreed to the arrangement for the original states, they had not agreed to it for a lot of new slave states.

A Deadlock. The South stood up for the right of Missouri to come into the Union as she pleased. Southern men said that it was not against the evils of slavery that the North was contending, but for an undue share of power. They said it would be unconstitutional to require Missouri to abolish slavery; that the original states were allowed to decide for themselves whether they would have slavery or not, and if Missouri were not allowed to do this, she would be wronged, as she would not have equal rights with the other states. The Senate voted to admit Missouri as a slave state, but the House refused. This made a "deadlock," that is, neither side could get its way and the question went over until the next meeting of Congress.

Maine and the "Rider." When Congress met again, in December, 1819, Maine applied for admission as a free state. No "enabling act" was necessary for Maine, because it was a part of Massachusetts, and that state had given its consent to Maine's becoming a separate state. The House readily consented to admit Maine, but in the Senate the Missouri bill (admitting Missouri as a slave state) was attached as a "rider" to the Maine bill in the hope of forcing the friends of Maine to admit Missouri. Missouri was to ride in on the back of Maine, or the two states were to come in or stay out together.

The Missouri Compromise. Both sides stood out firmly and the two houses were again in a deadlock. A compromise was necessary. A "conference committee" was appointed, consisting of members from each house, which agreed to a compromise proposed by Senator Thomas of Illinois. This provided:

MAP ILLUSTRATING THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE

1. That Maine should be separated from Missouri and admitted free.

2. That Missouri be admitted as a slave state.

3. That in all the rest of the Louisiana territory north of 36° 30′ (which is the southern boundary of Missouri) "slavery shall be and is hereby forever prohibited." This agreement was approved by both houses of Congress and adopted. Such was the famous Missouri Compromise between the North and the South in 1820.

The Importance of the Missouri Struggle. This was the first hard contest between the states over slavery. Bitterness had arisen and threats of disunion had been made. It was shown that in such a contest the South would stand by slavery, and that opposition to slavery might be expected to arise in the North. A geographical line was now recognized dividing the North from the South, and for the first time under the Constitution, Congress had exercised the power to prohibit slavery in the territories.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Show the injustice, from the standpoint of the North, of the three-fifths compromise.
2. Explain what is meant by the "equilibrium of power" between the slave states and the free.
3. Sketch a map of the United States, showing the territory owned at the close of the Revolution, the Louisiana Purchase, and the Northwest Territory.
4. State the terms of the Missouri Compromise and give three reasons why it was of importance in our history. Trace on the map the line 36° 30′ showing from what territory in the Louisiana Purchase slavery was to be excluded.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

1. Higginson and MacDonald, "History of the United States," 370–375 (Missouri Disturbs the "Era of Good Feeling").
2. E. E. Sparks, "The United States," Vol. I, 378–382 (Sectional Discord over Territory).
3. Carl Schurz, "Life of Clay," Vol. I, 172–202 (The Missouri Compromise).

CHAPTER XXII

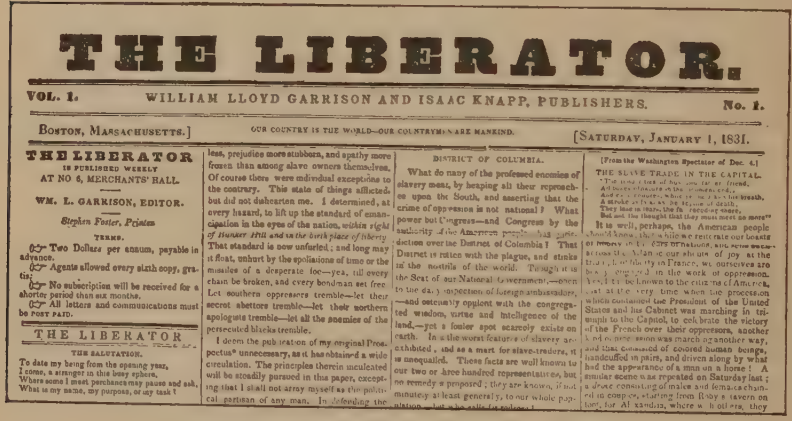
THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT

The Beginnings of Abolition. It would seem that the Missouri struggle had aroused an opposition to slavery that would not soon die down. But the excitement soon passed away and for ten years very little attention was given to slavery. It seemed that the anti-slavery spirit was dying out. A Colonization Society had been organized in 1816 for the purpose of sending the free colored people to settle as colonists in Africa and elsewhere; but this society was doing nothing for the cause of the slave and very little for the free negro.

When Jackson became President in 1829 slavery was stronger than ever. Only a few voices here and there were raised against it. Benjamin Lundy, a New Jersey Quaker, had been traveling all over the country, on horseback and on foot, trying to arouse consciences everywhere against slavery. He founded a journal, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, which he circulated on his travels. He met William Lloyd Garrison, then a young editor in Vermont, whom he interested in his cause. In 1831 Garrison founded a paper in Boston, called the *Liberator*, and he became the most noted of the radical anti-slavery men known as *Abolitionists*. To Lundy and Garrison more than to any others is due the awakening of the country from its slumber on the subject of slavery.

The Abolition Societies and their Principles. Garrison demanded "immediate emancipation," without paying for the slaves and without taking them from the country. In 1833 Garrison, Whittier, and others formed the American Anti-Slavery Society at Philadelphia. Their declaration of principles is an

important document in the history of the United States, because it marks a movement that was destined to arouse the country on slavery and finally to break up political parties and divide the Union. The abolitionists admitted that under the Constitution each state should regulate slavery within its own borders, but they demanded that Congress should stop the inter-state slave trade, abolish slavery in the territories and in the District of Columbia, and that no more slave states should be admitted to the Union. Furthermore, they proposed to organize societies, send forth



THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. 1. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND ISAAC KNAPP, PUBLISHERS. No. 1.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.] OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE MANKIND. [SATURDAY, JANUARY 1, 1831.

THE LIBERATOR IS PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT NO 6, MERCHANTS' HALL.

WM. L. GARRISON, EDITOR.

Stephen Foster, Printer

TERMS.

☞ Two Dollars per annum, payable in advance.

☞ Agents allowed every sixth copy, gratis;

☞ No subscription will be received for a shorter period than six months.

☞ All letters and communications must be POST PAID.

THE LIBERATOR

THE SALUTATION.

To date my being from the opening year,
I come, a stranger in the busy sphere.
Where some I meet, perchance may pause and ask,
What is my name, my purpose, or my task?

less, prejudice more stubborn, and apathy more frozen than among slave owners themselves. Of course there were individual exceptions to the contrary. This state of things afflicted but did not dishearten me. I determined, at every hazard, to lift up the standard of emancipation in the eyes of the nation, within sight of Bunker Hill and in the birth-place of liberty. That standard is now unfurled; and long may it float, unhurt by the spoliations of time or the missiles of a desperate foe—yea, till every chain be broken, and every bondman set free. Let southern oppressers tremble—let their secret abettors tremble—let their northern apologists tremble—let all the enemies of the persecuted blacks tremble.

I deem the publication of my original Prospectus unnecessary, as it has obtained a wide circulation. The principles therein inculcated will be steadily pursued in this paper, excepting that I shall not array myself as the political partisan of any man. In defending the

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

What do many of the professed enemies of slavery mean, by heaping all their reproaches upon the South, and asserting that the crime of oppression is not national? What power but Congress—and Congress by the authority of the American people—has jurisdiction over the District of Columbia? That District is rotten with the plague, and stinks in the nostrils of the world. Though it is the Seat of our National Government,—even to the daily inspection of foreign ambassadors,—and ostensibly opulent with the congregated wisdom, virtue and intelligence of the land,—yet a fouler spot scarcely exists on earth. In the worst features of slavery exhibited, and as a mart for slave-traders, it is unequalled. These facts are well known to our two or three hundred representatives, but no remedy is proposed; they are known, if not minutely at least generally, to our whole population—but who calls to redress!

[From the Washington Spectator of Dec. 4.]

THE SLAVE TRADE IN THE CAPITAL.

[illegible]

It is well, perhaps, the American people should know, that while we restrain our beasts of burden in the [illegible] of nations, and even [illegible] the Capitol of our states of joy at the [illegible] in France, we ourselves are [illegible] in the work of oppression. [illegible] be known to the citizens of America, that at the very time when the procession which celebrated the President of the United States and his Cabinet was marching in triumph to the Capitol, to celebrate the victory of the French over their oppressors, another [illegible] was march on another way, and that [illegible] of colored human beings, handcuffed in pairs, and driven along by what had the appearance of a man on a horse! A similar scene was repeated on Saturday last; a drove consisting of males and females chained in couples, starting from Bixby's tavern on foot, for Alexandria, where [illegible] they

PART OF THE FIRST ISSUE OF THE LIBERATOR

agents, circulate literature, arouse the pulpit and the press, and use all lawful means to destroy slavery. They denounced slaveholding in unsparing terms as man-stealing and robbery, as a sin, a crime, and a disgrace. They wished to make slaveholding odious. This meant war on slavery, and that there could be no more peace on that subject while slavery lasted.

Effect of Abolitionism on the South. The South was aroused. The slaveholders were indignant at these insulting attacks. They felt no guilt in holding slaves. Their slaves, they claimed, were treated kindly and were taken care of far better than they could care for themselves. The Southerners felt that the southern

people were responsible for southern slavery; they wanted no intermeddling, and they felt that northern abolitionists should attend to their own business, take care of their own sins, and leave the South alone. The South had over *a billion dollars* invested in slave property, and it was not in human nature meekly to submit and give up this property. They felt, too, that the abolitionists were attacking not only their property but their *characters*, as the slaveholders were constantly spoken of as criminals and cruel oppressors. They said that if the slaves were set free a horrible race war would result, and that the only effect of the abolition agitation would be to arouse the slaves to slaughter their masters and desolate the homes of the whites. This awful dread of a slave uprising was increased by a slave insurrection in Virginia in 1831, led by Nat Turner, in which sixty white people were killed, and the Southerners said that the abolitionists were directly responsible for this horrible outrage.

The South Defends Slavery and Demands the Suppression of the Abolitionists. For these reasons the South demanded that the abolitionists be put down and their societies be broken up by law. The legislature of Georgia offered a reward of five thousand dollars to any one who would kidnap Garrison and bring him to that state for trial. The mayor of Boston was called upon to suppress the *Liberator*. The mayor reported that he had "ferreted out the paper," which he had not heard of before, "and that Garrison's office was an obscure hole, his only visible help a negro boy." Later, James Russell Lowell made this the text of his poem, "To W. L. Garrison," beginning

> "In a small chamber friendless and unseen
> Toiled o'er his types one poor, unlearned young man:
> The place was dark, unfurnitured and mean,
> Yet there the freedom of a race began."

The slave laws were strengthened in the South, and southern leaders said that God approved of slavery and had designed the black man to be a slave. Governor McDuffie, of South Caro-

lina, spoke of slavery as "a perfect system of political and social happiness," while John C. Calhoun, their leading statesman, said it was not a necessary evil but "a positive good."

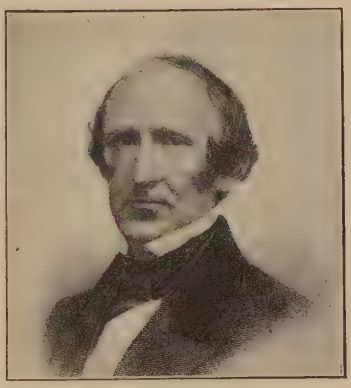
Thus, the first effect of the abolition movement, it seemed, was to arouse the South to defend slavery and to make the condition of the slaves harder than before.

Anti-Abolition Mobs. The abolitionists were almost as unpopular in the North as in the South. Mobs tried to suppress them. Garrison and his followers were everywhere abused and denounced. Their meetings were broken up, their speakers were egged and stoned, and it seemed that free speech and a free press were to be denied to them. James G. Birney's printing press was destroyed and thrown into the Ohio River at Cincinnati; Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy was killed at Alton, Illinois, while defending his press against a pro-slavery mob (1837). When George Thompson, an English orator, was announced to speak at an abolition meeting in Boston (October 21, 1835) a reward of one hundred dollars was offered to "the first man who should lay violent hands on the foreign scoundrel that he may be brought to the tar-kettle before dark." Rioters broke up the meeting and Garrison was seized and dragged through the streets of Boston amid a howling mob. The officers had great difficulty in saving Garrison's life, putting him into jail for safety. The following morning Garrison wrote on the walls of his cell:

"William Lloyd Garrison was put in this cell, Wednesday, October 21, 1835, to save him from the violence of a respectable and influential mob who sought to destroy him for preaching the abominable and dangerous doctrine that all men are created equal and that all oppression is odious in the sight of God. Hail Columbia! Cheers for the Autocrat of Russia and the Sultan of Turkey! Reader, let this inscription remain until the last slave in this despotic land shall be loosed from his fetters."

Wendell Phillips the Abolition Orator. The abolitionists stood their grounds, and the persecutions they suffered only raised up friends for their cause. Many anti-slavery men who were

not abolitionists joined them in standing up for free thought and free speech. One of these, William Ellery Channing, a noted minister who had written a powerful essay against slavery, said the abolitionists had won everlasting honor for the courage with which they had stood up against the mob outrages that were heaped upon them. Wendell Phillips was a rich young lawyer in Boston when he saw Garrison dragged through the streets by the mob. The sight led Phillips to devote his life to the cause of the slave. Phillips became the most noted of anti-slavery orators, and a powerful champion of the abolition cause. One of the most dramatic scenes in the anti-slavery struggle was that in Faneuil Hall, Boston, in 1837, when Phillips made his famous speech on the death of Lovejoy. "In the annals of American speech there has been no such scene since Patrick Henry's electrical warning to George III. Three such scenes are illustrious in our history, Patrick Henry at Williamsburg, Wendell Phillips in Faneuil Hall, and Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg, — three, and there is no fourth." [1]



WENDELL PHILLIPS
1811–1884.

The Freedom of the Mails. The slavery question could not be kept out of politics. The abolitionists were sending their papers and pamphlets and illustrated almanacs describing the abuses of slavery to all parts of the country by means of the post-office. Southern people did not like this and they demanded that the abolitionists be prevented from sending their documents through the mails. They said that these documents were "in-

[1] Oration of George William Curtis on Phillips. Read Phillips's speech in Johnston and Woodburn's "American Orations," Vol. II, pp. 102–114, and the note on page 367.

cendiary," that is, they would stir up the slaves to insurrection or induce them to run away. At one time, in Charleston, South Carolina, some of these anti-slavery papers were taken from the post-office and burned in the street, and President Jackson proposed that Congress should pass a law punishing any one who should circulate such publications. The abolitionists insisted upon their right to use the mails as a part of the freedom of the press guaranteed in the Constitution. No law was passed against them in this matter, but much discussion was stirred up.

Anti-Slavery Petitions: Slavery in the District of Columbia. The abolitionists sent petitions to Congress asking that body to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, where it had continued to exist after Maryland and Virginia had given the District to the United States for a capital. The anti-slavery men felt that the whole nation was responsible for slavery at the national capital and they wished it abolished. Hot discussions arose in Congress and at one time all the Congressmen from the South threatened to leave in a body, saying they would not permit slavery to be discussed and slaveholders denounced on the floor of Congress. They would not stay in a Union or support a government in which they and their property interests were attacked in such a way. The party leaders were, therefore, anxious not to have the question of slavery discussed at all in Congress, as that would enable anti-slavery speeches and arguments to be printed and sent all over the country, and this would tend to destroy the Union.

The Gag Rule: John Quincy Adams and the Right of Petition. To prevent the slavery question from being brought up in Congress, a "gag rule" was adopted to shut off the abolition petitions. This provided that all petitions, or papers, relating to slavery should be laid aside without notice. This raised a new issue. The right peaceably to assemble and petition the government is guaranteed in the Constitution; it was a right older than the Constitution itself, and down to this time (1834–1837) Congress had always treated petitions with respect. Should this

right now be denied? It was the denial of this right and the effort to "gag" the anti-slavery men that aroused John Quincy Adams to attack slavery and to become an ally of the abolitionists.

After retiring from the presidency Adams had been elected in 1831 to the House of Representatives. He was not an abolitionist, and he did not favor abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia. But he did not wish the slavery interests to control the government and he was ready to fight for free petition and free debate. He denounced the "gag rule" and said that the people had a right to have their petitions on any subject properly received. Adams kept up the fight for eight years, until the "gag policy" was abandoned in 1844. This struggle and the effort that was made to keep slavery from being discussed tended to make more anti-slavery men and to arouse the abolitionists to fight harder for their cause.

William Lloyd Garrison
1805–1879.

Division Among Abolitionists. In spite of all opposition the abolitionists continued to increase. By 1837 they had fifteen hundred societies with one hundred and fifty thousand members, and a new society was being formed every day. They had able newspapers and their agents worked with great zeal. But in 1839 a split in their ranks occurred. One group followed Garrison and were called "Garrisonians"; the others were the "Liberty Party Men." The "Garrisonians" were the extreme abolitionists. They did not believe in voting or holding office, or taking part in politics. Garrison would listen to only one way of dealing with slavery, — he wanted it abolished immediately without any regard to the "rights" of slaveholders. He used harsh words, calling the slave owners "robbers" and "mur-

derers." He was a brave man who wanted justice and freedom for the negro, and he did great good in stirring up people to think of the evils of slavery; but most people thought him a man of wild and unreasonable notions. He denounced the Constitution as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," and he said he wanted "no Union with slaveholders." Very few anti-slavery men were followers of Garrison.

The Liberty Party. The Liberty party men were the "political abolitionists." They believed in voting, organizing a party, and nominating candidates for President and Vice-President. They wanted to preserve the Union and they felt that they could support the Constitution, except those parts of it which sustained slavery. These parts they would disregard as being contrary to the "higher law" of God. They wanted to confine slavery to the states where it then existed and to use all the national powers against slavery outside of those states. This party nominated James G. Birney for President in 1840, and although it polled only seven thousand votes, it deserves to be remembered as the beginning of a political party movement against slavery.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. State the principles and describe the methods of the abolitionists. Give an account of the work of Lundy and Garrison.
2. What was the effect of the Abolition movement on the South? On the condition of the slaves? What was the southern defense of slavery?
3. How do you account for the growth of the abolitionists in the face of such opposition?
4. How would you show the importance of the Abolition movement?

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

1. Woodrow Wilson, "Division and Reunion," 117–132 (The Slavery System).
2. A. B. Hart, "Source Book of American History," 244–248 (A Southern Defense of Slavery by Governor McDuffie).
3. Read Elizabeth Whittier's poem "To J. Q. Adams"; Lowell's poem, "To W. L. Garrison"; Whittier's "Massachusetts to Virginia," and "To W. L. G." (Garrison).

CHAPTER XXIII

SLAVERY EXTENSION: TEXAS, OREGON, AND THE MEXICAN WAR

Early Settlements in Texas. Texas, which was the country between the Sabine and the Rio Grande, was claimed by the United States as a part of the Louisiana Purchase. In 1819, in the Florida treaty, we gave up this claim to Spain, and Texas became a part of Mexico. Many people thought Texas ought not to have been given up, and the United States tried to buy it back, but Mexico, which had now become independent of Spain, refused to sell (1828–1829). In 1819, Moses Austin, a Connecticut Yankee, planned to settle an American colony in Texas. Two years later his son led some American settlers there. In 1829 Mexico abolished slavery, but the Texans disregarded this and continued to hold their slaves. By 1830 about thirty thousand colonists, mostly Americans, were in Texas.

The Texan Revolution. The Texans did not like the Mexican government. The ruler, Santa Anna, was a dictator, and in 1835 he changed the constitution of Mexico, reducing Texas to a province and depriving her people of local self-government. The Texans felt that their lives and property were not protected. They were unlike the Mexicans in race and religion, and they wanted a republican, local government of their own, such as they had been accustomed to in the United States. In 1835 they rose in revolt and declared their independence.

Goliad and the Alamo (March, 1836). Under Houston, Bowie, and Crockett, the Texans made a brave fight for freedom. Their struggle was marked by heroic courage and devoted patriotism. At Goliad three hundred and seventy of them, who had been compelled to surrender to a large force of Mexicans, were marched

out and shot down like cattle, on the plea that they were American "filibusters." At the Alamo a band of one hundred and eighty-three Texans were besieged by an army of one thousand Mexicans. Colonel Travis, the brave Texan commander, said that

TEXAN INDEPENDENCE AND THE MEXICAN WAR

he would "never surrender nor retreat." The Mexicans made the assault from three sides and "a desperate hand to hand struggle followed, and all but a half dozen of the Texans died fighting." The survivors were all massacred, not a man being left alive to tell the tale. The Texans never forgot Goliad and the Alamo.

Their brothers who died there were regarded as martyrs to liberty, and they resolved never again to submit to Mexican rule.

Battle of San Jacinto. A few weeks later (April 21, 1836), the Texans routed the Mexicans in the decisive battle of San Jacinto. The Texans charged in a terrible onset, shouting their war cry, "Remember the Alamo." The Mexicans lost sixteen hundred men, twice the number of the whole Texan army, while the Texans lost but two killed and twenty-three wounded. Soon afterward Texan independence was recognized by Great Britain, France, and the United States, and for nine years (1836–1845) Texas was the independent "Lone Star Republic."

The Movement for Annexation. The Texans and many southern leaders wished Texas to be annexed to the United States. Texas was a large and fertile country; slavery was allowed there, and more territory was needed for its extension; the Texans were brother Americans, and it would only be re-annexation of territory that ought never to have been given up; and, most important of all for the protection of slavery, the "balance of power" in the Senate demanded that there should be more slave states. It was for these very reasons that the anti-slavery men opposed annexation. They said that at all hazards slavery extension should be prevented. They had no sympathy with the Texan struggle for independence. To admit Texas, they said, would be like seizing the territory of a weaker nation. It would surely cause a war with Mexico and would only strengthen the control of the slaveholders over the national government. Some of them said that if Texas were annexed the Union ought to be broken up.

Annexation and the Election of 1844. The question became the leading issue in the presidential election of 1844. It was expected that Van Buren would again be the Democratic candidate, but he had opposed annexation and the southern leaders would not have him. They nominated James K. Polk, of Tennessee. He is called the first "dark horse" in American politics, because he had not been talked of for the presidency before he was nominated. Polk came out openly for annexation.

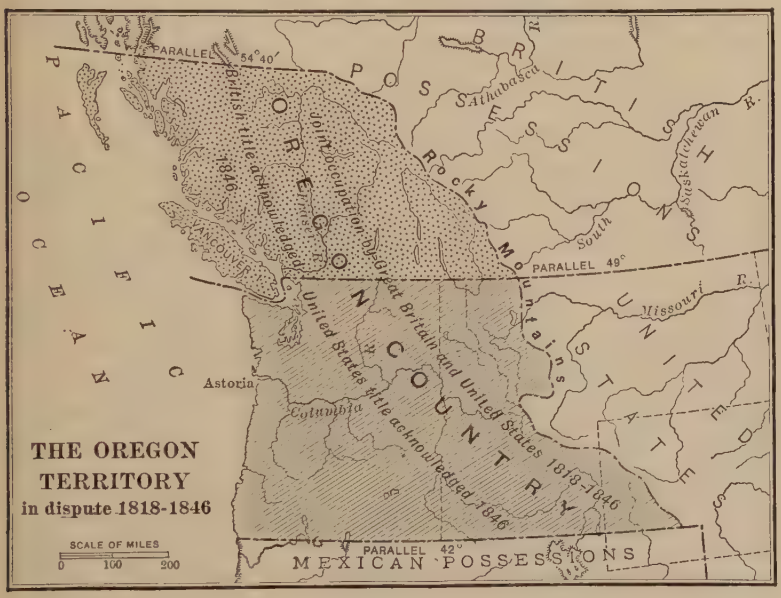
The Whigs nominated Henry Clay, their great leader and the advocate of a protective tariff. They thought he would surely defeat the obscure and commonplace Polk. But Clay's position on annexation was not clear. Some southern Whigs were afraid he would oppose annexation and some anti-slavery men in the North were afraid he would favor it; so he lost both kinds of voters and Polk was elected. In the campaign the Democrats sang:

"Hurrah for Polk and annexation,
Down with Clay and high taxation."

The little "Liberty Party" again nominated Birney, who received nearly ten times as many votes as he had received in 1840. Many Whigs voted for Birney because of their distrust of Clay, so the third-party abolitionists were blamed for Clay's defeat.

Oregon and "Fifty-Four-Forty or Fight." In the election of Polk the Democrats were aided in the North by their claim to Oregon. They said that they were for the "re-annexation of Texas and the re-occupation of Oregon." So they favored more territory for the North as well as for the South, and this was popular. "All of Oregon or none," "Fifty-four-forty or fight," they shouted. The Oregon country was west of the Rockies from the northern boundary of California to the southern boundary of Alaska, from 42° to 54° 40′. Great Britain claimed this country as far south as the Columbia River, basing her claims on the voyages of Captain Cook in 1778, and of Vancouver in 1792 and 1793, and on the interests of the Hudson Bay Company, whose trading posts were in that region. America based her claims on the discovery of the Columbia by Captain Gray in 1792, on the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, and on the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1804–1805. In 1818 Great Britain and America agreed to occupy the country together, but the time had now come when the ownership had to be settled. There was talk of war to decide the dispute, but neither nation wished to go to war and neither would give up all its claim to the other. Therefore a compro-

mise was agreed to and the territory divided. The year after Polk became President the Oregon treaty was made (August 5, 1846), fixing the forty-ninth parallel as the boundary between the United States and the British possessions. Thus we gave up some of our claim in the Northwest and avoided war with Great Britain.



Texas Annexed and Slavery Extended. John Tyler, as Vice-President, succeeded to the presidency after the death of President Harrison in April, 1841.[1] Tyler was an ardent friend of annexation, and after Polk's election in 1844, which President Tyler interpreted as a command from the people to annex Texas, he urged Congress to act in the matter. A joint resolution passed Congress in the last days of Tyler's administration (March 1,

[1] Tyler had been elected by the Whigs, but he did not carry out Whig policies. As a consequence his Cabinet all resigned except Webster, who remained as Secretary of State to complete the Webster-Ashburton Treaty relating to our northeastern boundary, 1842.

1845), providing for the admission of Texas. The Texan Congress gave its consent and Texas became a state in December, 1845, — the last slave state that ever came into the Union.

Influence of Annexation on the Anti-Slavery Movement. The movement to annex Texas had aroused the abolitionists to renewed activity and made more anti-slavery men. Calhoun, as Secretary of State under Tyler, had used the power of the national government (in diplomacy) to keep Texas a slave state and to bring it into the Union as a means of strengthening slavery in the South. The law admitting Texas provided that five states might be made out of the new state, if Texas should consent. The anti-slavery men fully expected that this would be done and that all five would be slave states. The North was alarmed at this prospect of slavery extension, and after this the slavery question was the chief issue in politics until slavery was abolished.

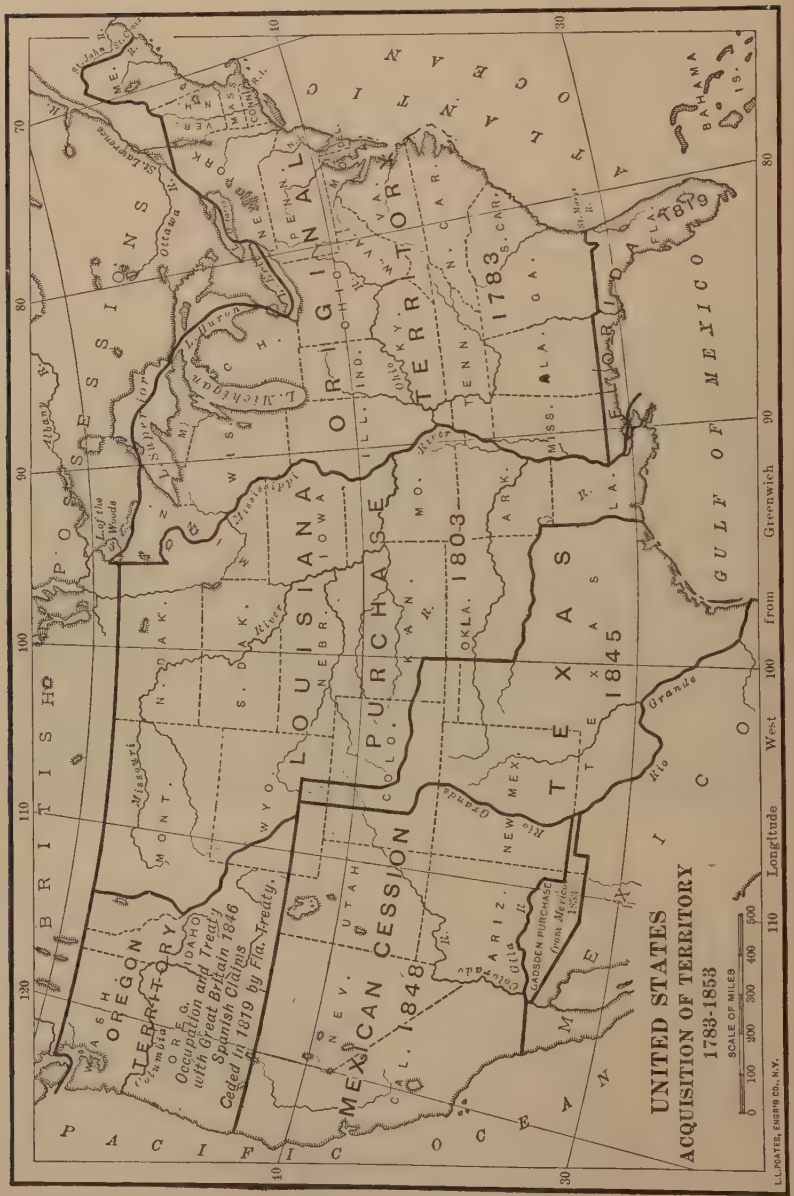
Causes of the Mexican War. The annexation of Texas led directly to war with Mexico, as the anti-slavery men had said that it would. Mexico had not given up her claim to Texas, and when Texas was admitted to the Union, Mexico ordered her minister to leave Washington; that is, Mexico was angry and refused to have any dealings with the United States. Texas claimed the territory east of the Rio Grande from the mouth of that river to its source. Mexico said that the land between the Nueces and the Rio Grande was not a part of Texas. President Polk held that when we annexed Texas we annexed all that Texas claimed, and he ordered General Taylor with four thousand men to the Rio Grande "to protect the Texan frontier." The Mexicans looked on this action as an invasion of their territory and attacked some of Taylor's men in the disputed district. When Taylor's despatch announcing this attack reached Washington, Polk sent a war message to Congress (May 12, 1846) in which he said that Mexico had invaded our territory and "shed American blood on American soil." Congress adopted Polk's view and, without taking time to inquire into the truth and justice of the claim, declared that "war exists by the act of the Republic of Mexico."

Polk was blamed for taking a step that was sure to result in war, instead of leaving the dispute about the territory open to negotiation. American citizens had money claims against Mexico, and President Polk was very anxious to obtain California. All these things led to war with Mexico.

The War and Its Results. The Mexican war was soon ended. It lasted less than two years, from May, 1846, to February, 1848. General Taylor beat the Mexicans at Palo Alto and at Resaca de

THE BATTLE OF BUENA VISTA, 1847
General Taylor's decisive victory over the Mexicans.

la Palma (May 8 and 9, 1846). He crossed the Rio Grande and stormed the walls of Monterey (September 24, 1846). He was then ordered to send ten thousand of his men to General Scott who was planning to invade Mexico from another direction. With only five thousand men remaining, Taylor was attacked by Santa Anna, the Mexican commander, with twenty thousand men. Santa Anna told Taylor he must surrender or be cut to pieces; but Taylor chose his ground and against great odds totally defeated the Mexicans in the decisive battle of Buena Vista, Febru-


UNITED STATES
ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY
1783-1853
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
110 Longitude West 100 from Greenwich 90
ORIGINAL TERRITORY 1783
LOUISIANA PURCHASE 1803
MEXICAN CESSION 1848
TEXAS 1845
OREGON TERRITORY
Claimed by U.S. & Great Britain
Occupation and Treaty with Great Britain 1846
Spanish Claims Ceded in 1819 by Fla. Treaty
GADSDEN PURCHASE from Mexico 1853
FLORIDA 1819
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
BAHAMA IS.
L. Superior
L. Michigan
L. Huron
L. Erie
L. Ontario
Ohio R.
Missouri R.
Mississippi R.
Rio Grande
Colorado R.
Gila R.
Arkansas R.
Red R.
St. Lawrence R.
Ottawa R.
Columbia R.
Snake R.
Yellowstone R.
Platte R.
Great Salt L.
Lake of the Woods
MINN.
IOWA
MO.
ARK.
LA.
MISS.
ILL.
IND.
OHIO
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TENN.
ALA.
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S. CAR.
N. CAR.
VA.
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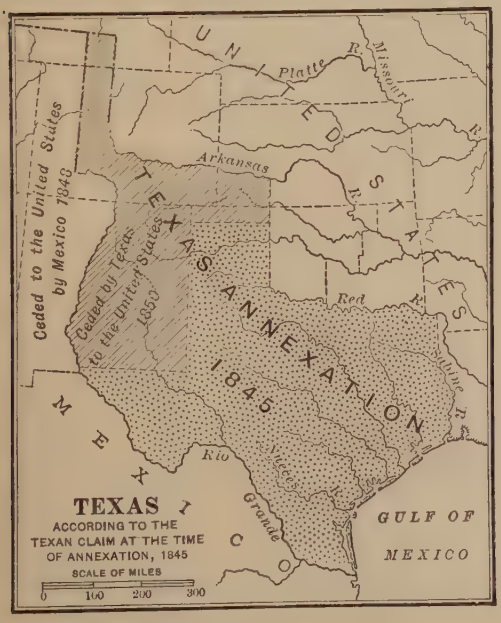
IDAHO
UTAH
NEV.
ARIZ.
NEW MEX.
TEXAS
CAL.
OREG.
WASH.
L. L. POATES, ENGRG CO., N.Y.

ary 23, 1847. Northwestern Mexico was conquered and the "Hero of Buena Vista," or "Old Rough and Ready," as Taylor was called, had begun to be thought of as a good candidate for the presidency.

General Scott captured Vera Cruz (March, 1847), and began a march of two hundred miles to the Mexican capital. He stormed Cerro Gordo, and rapid victories followed at Churubusco, Molino del Rey, and in the storming of Chapultepec. Scott marched his triumphant army into the City of Mexico, September 14, 1847. Meanwhile, General Kearney, marching from Missouri by the old Santa Fé trail, had conquered New Mexico; and General John C. Fremont and Commodores Sloat and Stockton and a few hundred American settlers had conquered California. All the vast regions westward from Texas to the Pacific Ocean, which had been Spanish-Mexican territory, were now in the possession of Americans.

GEN. WINFIELD SCOTT

Hero of Lundy's Lane in War of 1812, victor at Cerro Gordo, in the Mexican war, a Virginian and a Union man in the Civil War.



The Peace Treaty of Guadaloupe Hidalgo. Mexico was conquered. Her territory

was overrun, her armies helpless, her government broken up, her capital in the hands of the enemy, and she had to submit. Some favored annexing all of Mexico to the United States, but President Polk said that he had been "falsely charged with a war for the conquest of Mexico," and he would not permit it. Mexico was compelled to give up to the United States all territory north of the Rio Grande and Gila rivers, including, besides Texas, New Mexico, California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming,—about 800,000 square miles in all. The United States agreed to pay $15,000,000 to Mexico and to pay $3,500,000 more of claims that our citizens had against the Mexican government. The war had cost about $100,000,000 and 13,000 lives. We must now notice the problems that followed this war.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. What causes led to the revolt of Texas from Mexico?
2. Tell how annexation of Texas to the United States was brought about. Reasons for it? Reasons against it? Effect of it?
3. State the British claims to the "Oregon Country." The American claims. Tell how and when the dispute was "compromised." Explain.
4. State the causes of the Mexican War. Was our country wrong in this war? State the results of the war.
5. How was the annexation of Texas related to the slavery question? Show the importance of this.
6. Show on the map the territory gained from Mexico. Locate the following rivers: Rio Grande, Nueces, Sabine, Gila.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

1. A. M. Williams, "Life of Houston," 137–154 (Fall of the Alamo); 184–207 (Battle of San Jacinto).
2. George P. Garrison, "Texas," 170–188 (Mexican Misrule); 255–268, (Annexation and the Texan Boundary).
3. Read J. S. C. Abbott's "David Crockett and Early Texan History," and "Kit Carson, the Pioneer of the Far West"; Kirk Munroe's "With Crockett and Bowie,"; Lowell's "Biglow Papers"; Whittier's "Angels of Buena Vista"; Lowell's "The Present Crisis"; Parkman's "The Oregon Trail."

CHAPTER XXIV

THE COMPROMISES OF 1850

The New Territory and the Wilmot Proviso. Look at the map and see the territory which the United States acquired from Mexico. Should this territory be slave or free? This question now had to be answered. When President Polk asked Congress for money to pay Mexico for territory, an act appropriating $3,000,000 (called the "Three Million Bill") was proposed, and David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, offered an amendment, or proviso (in 1846 and 1847), declaring that slavery should never exist in any territory to be obtained from Mexico. This was the famous "Wilmot Proviso." It meant opposition to the extension of slavery. All those who believed in the Wilmot Proviso were against slavery extension and they believed this extension ought to be prevented by Congress. The Proviso caused much discussion, but it was not adopted when the bill was passed.

Conflict Between the North and the South. This proposal to keep slavery out of the new territory offended the South. The Virginia legislature called it an "outrage" and many southern men said it would lead to disunion and they threatened to secede if it were adopted. They said the territory was the property of all the states; that a citizen of a slave state should be allowed to immigrate into the territories with his property (slaves) and be protected there in holding this property just the same as a citizen of a free state with *his* property, horses and cattle. Whatever any state recognized as property must be protected by the national government as property in the territories. This is what Calhoun called "equal rights in the territories." The advocates of slavery claimed that the South would be excluded from the territories if slavery were excluded.

The anti-slavery men were determined to exclude slavery. They said that the southern people could go into the new states and territories with the same rights as the people from the other states, the only difference being that they could not take with them their peculiar laws that allowed them to hold slaves. The North said that slaves were not property except by the local laws of the slave states; outside of those states the national laws

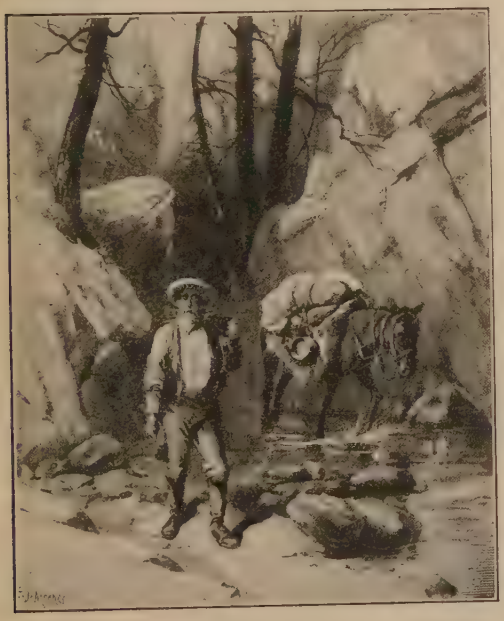
SUTTER'S MILL, CALIFORNIA
Scene of the first discovery of gold in 1848.

regarded the negroes as *persons*, not as property, therefore the national government should favor freedom wherever it had control, as, for example, in the District of Columbia and the territories.

The Election of 1848: the "Free-Soilers." In the midst of this discussion over slavery in the territories, the election of 1848 came on. Both parties wanted to keep the slavery question out of politics. Anti-slavery Democrats and anti-slavery Whigs urged their parties to approve the Wilmot Proviso, but neither party would do so. Both parties wanted the support of the South.

The Whigs nominated General Taylor, who was a slaveholder, and they did not adopt any platform at all, while the Democratic candidate, General Cass, came out for "popular sovereignty" in the territories, that is, the people should say for themselves whether they would have slavery or not.

Many anti-slavery Whigs and Democrats left their old parties and formed the Free-Soil Party. These "Free-Soilers" thought that their first duty was to oppose the extension of slavery. They did not propose to interfere with slavery in the slave states, but they said, "No more slave states, no more slave territories; free soil for free people."



A "FORTY-NINER"
One who went gold-hunting in California in 1849.

The old "Liberty Party" went in with the Free-Soilers. The election showed that the anti-slavery spirit was gaining strength. General Taylor was elected, chiefly because many Democrats in New York deserted their party to vote for Van Buren, the Free-Soil candidate. This Free-Soil movement tended still further to irritate the South and divide the country on sectional lines.

California and Gold Discovery. California presented another question. Gold was discovered there in January, 1848. This was a great event. It meant more wealth, more money, and good times. The gold fever raged among all classes of people. Ordi-

nary occupations were forgotten. Farmers, clerks, carpenters, masons, soldiers, and sailors left their business and flocked to the "diggings" to find gold. From all parts of the world the gold-seekers came, over the plains, across the Isthmus, around the Horn. In an incredibly short time, by the summer of 1849, California contained nearly one hundred thousand people and San Francisco had sprung from a little hamlet to a city of twenty thousand souls. These "Forty-niners" were mostly Americans, and in September, 1849, they formed a state government, adopted a constitution *excluding slavery*, and applied for admission to the Union.

MULE TRAIN

Supplies for the mines were carried over the mountains on the backs of mules and the ore was brought out to the smelters on the return trips.

The South objected to admitting California as a free state. That would break the "balance of power" in the Senate. Iowa's admission in 1846 had offset that of Texas in 1845, and Wisconsin in 1848 had balanced Florida (1845). There was no other slave state in sight. The South wished California to be governed as a territory, while the anti-slavery men wanted it admitted as a free state.

Questions in Dispute Between the North and the South. There were several other matters in dispute between the North and the South. Let us sum them all up.

1. Shall California be admitted free?

2. Shall slavery be prohibited in the rest of the Mexican cession?

3. Shall slavery be abolished in the District of Columbia?

4. Shall fugitive slaves be returned to their masters?

5. Shall trade in slaves between the states be prevented?

6. What shall be the boundary of Texas?

Northern and southern men were arrayed against one another on all these questions.

Calhoun, Webster, Seward. These questions were debated in Congress for many days. Calhoun spoke for the South. He said that the country faced a crisis and that the only way to save the Union was to restore the "equilibrium" between the sections. The Union Calhoun wished to save was a union of sections, the one slave, the other free. He saw that the South had ceased to be equal to the North in population and wealth, but he insisted on "political equality," that is, equality in power for the South. If this were not secured he saw that the time would soon come when the South would have to choose between the Union and slavery, and he advised the South to stand by slavery.

Webster spoke for compromise in his famous "Seventh of March" speech. He blamed the abolitionists more than the slaveholders for the sectional strife. Although he had always been opposed to slavery extension, he was now willing to give up the Wilmot Proviso. He said that it was useless, that it would only anger and wound the pride of the South, while slavery would be kept out of the new territory anyhow, by its physical features. Webster's speech greatly disappointed the anti-slavery men, and they condemned him severely; but it helped to allay strife and postpone secession and war.[1]

[1] Read Whittier's poem "Ichabod," which he wrote at this time and applied to Webster. One verse is as follows:

"Of all we loved and honored naught
Save power remains;
All else is gone; from those great eyes
The soul has fled.
When faith is lost, when honor dies,
The man is dead."

William H. Seward, a new senator from New York, spoke for the anti-slavery cause. He said: "The Constitution devotes the public domain to union, justice, and liberty. But there is a higher law than the Constitution which devotes it to the same

HENRY CLAY ADDRESSING THE SENATE, 1850

Clay was born in Virginia in 1777, died in Washington, D. C., in 1852. He was a poor boy, called the "Mill boy of the Slashes." He moved to Kentucky in early life, settling in Lexington, and was afterwards known as the "Great Kentuckian." In state and nation his public career extended over half a century and in that period he ranked as one of the foremost orators of his time. He sought to allay the violence of party strife, and to bring about peace and compromise for the sake of the Union. He was known as the "Compromiser" and "Pacificator." He was the first great Speaker of the House of Representatives.

noble purpose." This "higher law" doctrine was condemned as if Seward had said that the Constitution ought to be violated. He meant only to say that the law of God as well as the Constitution condemned slavery.

Clay and the Compromises of 1850. Henry Clay, who was a

great peacemaker, worked earnestly for a plan of compromise. He believed the Union was in danger and he appealed to both sides to give up something in order to save the Union. His compromise measures, at first combined in an "Omnibus Bill," finally passed one by one. The compromises resulted as follows:

1. California was admitted as a free state.

2. The slave trade (not slavery) was prohibited in the District of Columbia.

3. The new land was organized into two territories, New Mexico and Utah, without the Wilmot Proviso, with the understanding that the people should decide for themselves about slavery. This was called "popular sovereignty," which Calhoun nicknamed "squatter sovereignty." Neither side obtained all that it wanted in this arrangement.

4. A new fugitive slave law was passed.

5. Texas was paid $10,000,000 for her claim to New Mexico. Nothing was done in regard to the inter-state slave trade.

The Election of 1852. The people accepted the compromise measures because they wanted peace on the subject of slavery. Every one seemed satisfied, except the disunion men in the South and the abolitionists in the North. Both great political parties pledged themselves to stand by the compromises, including the fugitive slave law, as a final settlement of the slavery question. The Democratic candidate, Franklin Pierce, was elected. The Whigs were so badly beaten that they never amounted to anything again as a party, and some one said that the "Whig party died of an attempt to swallow the Fugitive Slave Law."

The Fugitive Slave Law and Personal Liberty Bills: The Underground Railroad. The worst feature of the compromise measures was the Fugitive Slave Act. It was demanded by the slaveholders because so many of their slaves were escaping and the northern states were refusing to return them. "Personal liberty bills" had been passed in the North to prevent free negroes from being kidnapped and carried into slavery. These laws gave a jury trial to the negro who was claimed, and by this and

other means made it almost impossible for a master to recover his runaway. The South claimed the right under the Constitution to have these slaves sent back. The Supreme Court had recognized this right, and if the free states would not return them, the South said, it was the duty of the national government to do it. The nation now undertook the task. The new law was to be enforced by United States officers. Under this law a negro might be seized and carried before a United States judge or commissioner. The commissioner who heard the case was allowed ten dollars if he found the negro to be a slave, but only five dollars if he found him to be a freeman. The negro could not testify in his own behalf and the right of trial by jury was, of course, denied him. Any citizen might be summoned to aid in capturing a fugitive. Hiding or rescuing a fugitive was punishable by a fine of one thousand dollars and damages to the same amount, or by imprisonment for six months. If a rescue was feared, the United States furnished sufficient force to carry the fugitive back to bondage.

The Underground Railroad. To many northern people this seemed like an attempt to turn them into slave-catchers. They wished to keep their obligations to the South, but they did not like this law. To the abolitionists the law was odious, and they were determined, law or no law, that the fugitive slaves should not be returned. A regular system arose of helping the slaves to escape. At certain houses and neighborhoods they were safely guarded from their pursuers. The friends of the slaves fed them and hid them away by day in hayloft, attic, or cellar, and at night brought out their teams and carried them on to the next station on their road toward Canada and freedom. These routes became known as the "Underground Railroad." It was not a railroad and it was not underground, but the name came into use because those who helped the negroes to escape had to hide their actions from the officers.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin." It was the Fugitive Slave Law that led Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe to write "Uncle Tom's Cabin,

or Life among the Lowly." It was a powerful story, setting forth the possible evils of slavery. Its purpose was to arouse opposition to the slave system and it therefore dealt chiefly with the worst and exaggerated aspects of slavery. Three hundred thousand copies were read at northern firesides to children at their mother's knees. Old and young alike were touched in their consciences, aroused to anger or melted to tears, and thousands were inspired to hate slavery and to despise the slave-catchers. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was one of the greatest forces in leading people to struggle for the overthrow of slavery. Rufus Choate said it would "make a million abolitionists."

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Tell how the slavery question came to the front after the Mexican War. What was the "Wilmot Proviso?"
2. Give an account of the discovery of gold in California. What was the effect of this discovery? Explain why California chose to become a free state.
3. Name the questions in dispute between the North and the South in 1850. Tell how these were settled by Clay's compromise measures.
4. State the southern view as to the rights of slave property in the territories. The anti-slavery view. The compromise view.
5. Give the position of Webster on the compromises of 1850; of Calhoun; of Seward.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

1. J. F. Rhodes, "History of the United States," Vol. I, 207–213 (Working of the Fugitive Slave Law).
2. T. K. Lothrop, "Life of Seward," 86–105 (Seward's Great Speech).
3. Carl Schurz, "Life of Clay," Vol. II, 315–350 (Clay's Work for Compromise).
4. Woodrow Wilson, "Division and Reunion," 169–174 (The Compromise of 1850).

CHAPTER XXV

THE REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE AND THE FINAL STRUGGLE FOR FREE-SOIL

The Slavery Question Reopened: The Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Franklin Pierce became President March 4, 1853. He and his party had promised that there should be peace on the subject of slavery; but Pierce had been in office only a few months when the slavery question caused more excitement than ever before. This was caused by the Kansas-Nebraska Bill which was offered in the Senate in January, 1854, by Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois. This bill provided for the creation of two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, out of the Louisiana Purchase, from which slavery had been excluded by the compromise of 1820. Douglas said that the compromise of 1850 had "superseded" or taken the place of the compromise of 1820, and his new bill now repealed the Act of 1820, which prohibited slavery north of 36° 30′, and asserted the doctrine of "popular sovereignty," — that the people of the territories should settle the question of slavery for themselves. This meant that these territories which for more than thirty years had been regarded as safe from slavery should be opened up to slaveholding settlers. The anti-slavery men in Congress stoutly opposed the bill, but in vain. It became a law in 1854.

Effect of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. When we consider its results we must conclude that the Kansas-Nebraska Act was one of the most important acts of legislation in American history. Let us sum up these results:

1. It opened up again the whole subject of slavery in the territories. Would the people resist the further spread of slavery? This issue again arrayed the North and South against each other, this time for the final struggle.

SLAVE AND FREE STATES
AFTER THE
KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL
1854
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500 600
DOMINION OF CANADA
WASHINGTON TERRITORY
Organized, 1853
FREE TERRITORY
OREGON TERRITORY
Organized, 1848
FREE TERRITORY
CALIFORNIA
FREE STATE, 1850
UTAH TERRITORY
Organized, 1850
QUESTION OF SLAVERY TO BE SETTLED BY POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY
NEBRASKA TERRITORY
Organized, 1854
KANSAS TERRITORY
Organized, 1854
NEW MEXICO TERRITORY
Organized, 1850
MINNESOTA TERRITORY
Organized, 1849
FREE TERRITORY
IOWA
FREE STATES
UNORGANIZED TERRITORY
SLAVE STATES
TEXAS
MEXICO
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
BAHAMA ISLANDS
Longitude West from Greenwich
L.L. POATES ENGR'G CO., N.Y.

2. It caused a break-up of parties. The Whig party was now abandoned. Webster and Clay, the great Whig leaders, had died in 1852. The southern Whigs joined the Democrats. Most of the Whigs in the North were opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and they were now ready to organize a new party to resist the extension of slavery.

The Democratic party was also divided. Many northern Democrats were opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. They were called the Anti-Nebraska Democrats and they were ready to join the anti-slavery Whigs in a new party. The Free-Soilers were also ready for a new party. These three elements, the Free Soilers, the Anti-Nebraska Democrats, and the Anti-Slavery Whigs, joined together to form the new Republican party. They differed on other issues, but they all stood united on one principle — *No further extension of slavery.*[1]

3. The third result of the Kansas-Nebraska Act was the struggle between the free-state men and the slave-state men for the control of Kansas. In the closing hours of the debate in Congress, Seward exclaimed: "Come on, then, gentlemen of the slave states! Since there is no escaping your challenge I accept

[1] Here was the origin of the present Republican party. The party's name and principles were announced at a mass meeting held "under the oaks" at Jackson, Michigan, July 6, 1854. This is celebrated as the founding of the party. An earlier meeting, however, was held at Ripon, Wisconsin, led by A. E. Bovay, and systematic work was begun there, as at many other places, to combine in one party all who would oppose the extension of slavery. The meeting at Jackson was the most notable. Read Francis Curtis's "History of the Republican Party," Vol. I, pp. 174–179; also John Hay's Address at Jackson, Michigan, July 6, 1904, at the Fiftieth Anniversary of the birth of the Republican Party. The "Know-Nothing" party also became strong in the break-up of parties in 1854. Its members believed that only native-born Americans should be elected to office, and that foreigners should be required to live here twenty-one years before being allowed to vote. The "Know-Nothings" met in secret lodges and they always claimed to *know nothing* about what their meetings and leaders were doing, hence the name. They were alarmed at the number of immigrants that had been coming to America, especially since the Irish famine of 1846. "Americans should rule America" was their motto, and later they were known as the "American" party. It was a useless, if not a harmful party, and it could not last. Horace Greeley said there might as well be an "anti-potato rot, or an anti-cholera" party.

it on behalf of the cause of freedom. We will engage in competition for the virgin soil of Kansas, and God give the victory to the side which is stronger in numbers as it is in right!"

The New England Emigrant Aid Society: War Over Kansas. The race for the territory began as soon as the bill became a law. From the slave state of Missouri some frontier citizens hurried to the new territory, staked out their land claims and called on southern men to come to Kansas.[1] The North had more men and money, more immigrants and young men who could go west

RUSHING INTO KANSAS TO VOTE, 1855

easily. The slaveholders ran the risk of losing their slaves. The New England Emigrant Aid Society was organized to help northern settlers to go to Kansas. The town of Lawrence was founded by these settlers. When the opposing forces met in Kansas there were armed conflicts between them. When elections were held the Missourians came over in great numbers and elected pro-slavery officers. The free-state men refused to be

[1] Among these Missouri settlers, who were mostly good citizens, were some rough characters, whom the anti-slavery men called "Border Ruffians." It was largely because of these and other disorderly elements from other states that the troubles arose in Kansas.

bound by these elections and they set up a government of their own. They held a convention at Topeka, adopted a constitution prohibiting slavery, and applied for admission to the Union. So there were two rival governments and a state of civil war in Kansas.

The free-state government had a majority of the people of Kansas behind it, but President Pierce recognized the slave-state government as legal and ordered soldiers to disperse the free-state legislature (July 4, 1856). The House of Representatives voted to admit Kansas under the free-state (Topeka) constitution, but the Senate refused. Thus, Congress and the President were divided and the whole subject of slavery in the form of "Bleeding Kansas" was again before the country.[1]

During the debates in the Senate over Kansas, Senator Sumner, of Massachusetts, severely denounced the slaveholders, especially Senator Butler, of South Carolina. A southern member of Congress, a nephew of Butler, assaulted Sumner in the Senate chamber, beating him upon the head with a cane. Sumner was knocked senseless and was disabled for three years. His assailant was applauded in the South and reëlected to Congress. Such were the bitterness and hatred aroused between North and South by the renewed discussion over slavery.

The Election of 1856. Amid this excitement the presidential election of 1856 came on. The new Republican party nominated General John C. Fremont, the "Pathfinder," for President. This party did not propose to interfere with slavery where it existed, but it denounced the "twin relics of barbarism,—polygamy and slavery," and said that Congress should keep them out of the territories. The party demanded that Kansas should be admitted as a free state.

The Democrats nominated James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, for President. They appealed to the people to save the Union by defeating the Republicans. They said the Republicans were

[1] In the end the free-state party got the upper hand in Kansas and that state was admitted free in 1861.

a sectional party, trying to array one part of the Union against another.

Southerners said that Republican success would be the end of the Union. This fear resulted in Buchanan's election. But the young Republicans made a strong race, though in all the South they received only a little over a thousand votes.

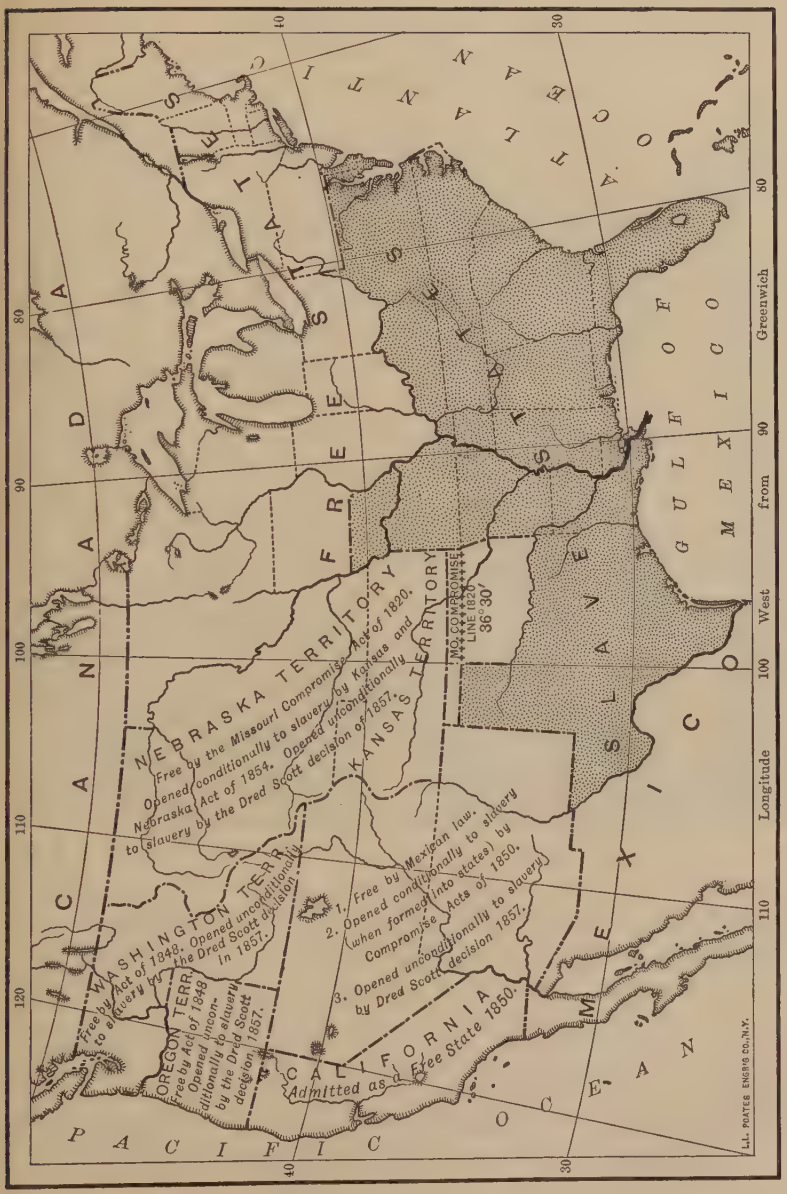
The Dred Scott Decision. James Buchanan became President on March 4, 1857. Two days later the Supreme Court announced a decision in the famous "Dred Scott Case" which aroused still greater excitement over slavery. Dred Scott was a Missouri slave whose owner had taken him (in 1838) first to Illinois, a free state, and then to Minnesota, where slavery had been prohibited by the compromise of 1820. When his owner took him back to Missouri, Dred sued for his freedom on the ground that residence in free territory had made him free. When the case reached the Supreme Court it was decided against him. Chief Justice Taney in rendering the decision announced three points of great importance:

1. No negro whose ancestors had been brought as slaves to this country could be a citizen of the United States. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were not intended to include the negroes.

2. Congress had no power to keep slavery out of the territories.

3. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 was unconstitutional and void.

Importance of the Decision. This meant that the government was only for white men, and that the negroes had no rights under it; that all the territories were open to slavery, including Oregon and Washington, and that the very corner-stone on which the Republican party had been founded (no extension of slavery) was unconstitutional. It was hoped that the Supreme Court would settle the slavery question by this decision, but it only added to the bitterness of the struggle. According to the decision, the Republicans were proposing to do what they had no right to do


FREE STATES
SLAVE STATES
CANADA
MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
NEBRASKA TERRITORY
Free by the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820.
Opened conditionally to slavery by Kansas and Nebraska Act of 1854. Opened unconditionally to slavery by the Dred Scott decision of 1857.
KANSAS TERRITORY
MO. COMPROMISE LINE 36° 30'
WASHINGTON TERR.
Free by Act of 1848. Opened unconditionally to slavery by the Dred Scott decision in 1857.
OREGON TERR.
Free by Act of 1848
Opened unconditionally to slavery by the Dred Scott decision 1857.
1. Free by Mexican law.
2. Opened conditionally to slavery (when formed into states) by Compromise Acts of 1850.
3. Opened unconditionally to slavery by Dred Scott decision 1857.
CALIFORNIA
Admitted as a Free State 1850.
Longitude West from Greenwich
120
110
100
90
80
40
30
L.L. PORTER ENGRG CO. N.Y.

FREEDOM AND SLAVERY, 1857

under the Constitution. But the Republicans proposed to keep up their party and to try to get the decision reversed.[1]

Shall Slavery Rule the Republic? The slavery extensionists now seemed to be completely triumphant. The Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court was on their side. The nation was to return fugitive slaves and protect slave property in the territories, while no interference with slavery was to be allowed in the slave states.

The slavery advocates, with the aid of President Buchanan, next sought to bring Kansas into the Union as a slave state against the wish of a majority of the Kansas people. Senator Douglas helped to defeat this effort, because it violated the principle of popular sovereignty. This led to another split in the Democratic party.[2] Many anti-slavery men said that the North must arouse itself and take possession of the government or the whole country would be turned into a slaveholding republic.

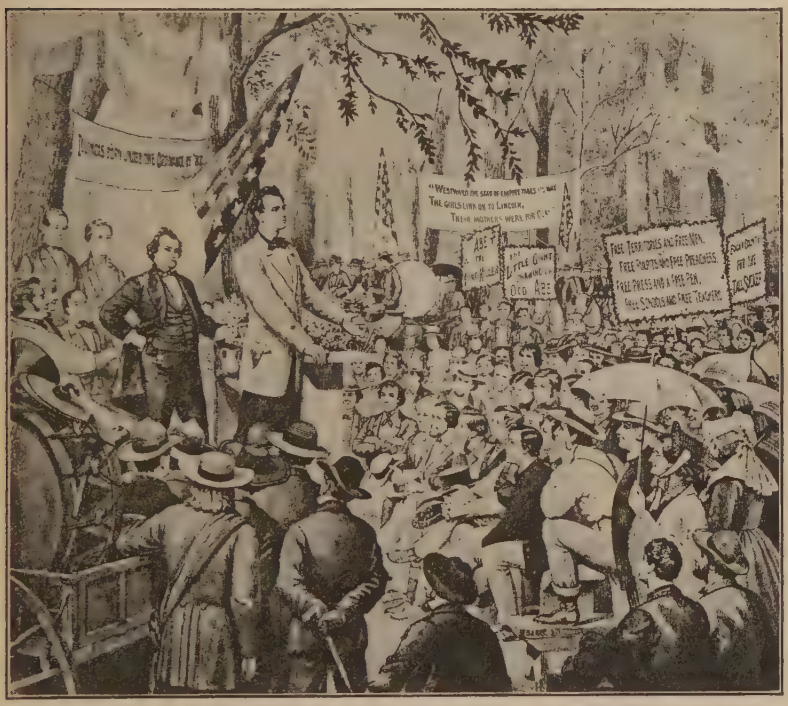
The Lincoln-Douglas Debate. A great anti-slavery leader now came to the front, in the West. This leader was Abraham Lincoln. In 1858 the people of Illinois had to elect a United States senator. The Democrats nominated Douglas. The Republicans nominated Lincoln. Lincoln's speech accepting this nomination is one of the most noted speeches in American history. He said: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other." He thought the anti-slavery men must prevent the spread of slavery, or its advocates would "push it forward till it shall become alike

[1] The whole Court did not agree to this decision. Two of the justices, Curtis and McLean, said that the negro might be a citizen with civil rights and that Congress might keep slavery out of the territories.

[2] This occurred in the struggle over the "Lecompton Constitution," which the pro-slavery party in Kansas had adopted and which President Buchanan recommended to Congress. This would have made Kansas a slave state in spite of the popular majority there.

lawful in all the states, old as well as new, North as well as South."

Lincoln and Douglas spoke together in debate on the slavery


"WESTWARD THE STAR OF EMPIRE TAKES ITS WAY"
THE GIRLS LIVE ON TO LINCOLN.
THEIR MOTHERS WERE FOR CLAY
ABC
OLD ABE
FREE TERRITORIES AND FREE MEN
FREE LABOR AND A FREE FARM
FREE SCHOOLS AND FREE TEACHERS

A Lincoln–Douglas Debate in Illinois, 1858

These debates were called the "Battle of the Giants," big and little. Douglas was short and fat, measuring five feet three, Lincoln was tall and lean, standing six feet four. They were debating "popular sovereignty" and freedom in the territories. A party banner is seen describing "the Little Giant chawing up Old Abe." Republicans spoke of "Abe the Giant Killer." Though Douglas was a great debater, he knew he could not defeat Lincoln very easily. When Douglas heard of Lincoln's nomination for the senatorship, he said: "I shall have my hands full. He is the strong man of his party — full of wit, facts, dates, — and the best stump speaker, with his droll ways and dry jokes, in the West. He is as honest as he is shrewd; and if I beat him my victory will be hardly won." This picture is reproduced from one made in 1858.

issue and the people flocked from miles around to hear them. Douglas defended popular sovereignty; he was willing to let

slavery go into any territory whose people wanted it; he did not care about the right or wrong of slavery. Lincoln wanted to deal with slavery as being wrong; he said the nation must keep it out of a new territory whether the people there wanted it or not.[1] Douglas won the Illinois senatorship, but Lincoln gained a great reputation and his friends felt that he had paved the way for a greater victory in 1860.

John Brown's Raid. While Congress and the people were having exciting debates over slavery an event occurred which widened the breach between North and South and made it more difficult to keep the peace. This was John Brown's raid. Brown had fought the pro-slavery men in Kansas, killing a number of them in a night raid. Brown hated slavery and he thought it was too late to get rid of it by peaceable means. On October 16, 1859, with a band of twenty men he seized the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry in Virginia. He expected to arouse the slaves, put arms in their hands, and let them fight for their freedom. It was a wild plan without any chance of success. The slaves did not rise, Brown was soon captured, ten of his followers were killed, and he himself was tried and executed for murder and treason under the laws of Virginia.

Effect of John Brown's Raid on the South. This attempt to arouse their slaves to insurrection made the southern people very angry. They thought, since the abolitionists applauded Brown and called him a hero and a martyr, that the northern people approved of his conduct and therefore they naturally felt that their lives and property were unsafe. The fact is, the great mass of the northern people disapproved of Brown's act, but it was hard to convince the South of this. Many southern men who were opposed to slavery were now ready to stand with the slaveholders against such violent and unlawful methods. It should be remembered that of the eight million white people

[1] In the debate at Freeport Lincoln asked Douglas a question which led Douglas to say that in spite of the Dred Scott decision the people of Kansas might by "unfriendly legislation" keep slavery out before they were ready for statehood. The South would not follow Douglas as a leader after that.

who lived in the South at this time only about two million were interested in slave property. The other six million were now more ready to follow the lead of the slaveholders. Thus the power of the slaveholding class was increased in the South and the spirit of disunion grew stronger.

The Election of 1860. The country was now aroused over slavery. For more than twenty years there had been almost constant agitation on the subject. Churches had been divided and political parties broken up, and bitter feeling had arisen. Interest in the election of 1860 was more intense than ever.

The Democratic party was divided into Northern Democrats and Southern Democrats. The Northern Democrats nominated Stephen A. Douglas for President. They declared for popular sovereignty in the territories. The Southern Democrats nominated John C. Breckinridge on a platform demanding that Congress should protect slavery in the territories until they were ready for statehood, then the people of the new states should do as they pleased.

The Republicans named Abraham Lincoln and demanded that Congress should prohibit slavery in the territories.

As the Democrats were divided, it was seen that Lincoln would be elected. Southern men said that if he were, they would secede; that is, withdraw from the Union; they would not submit to "Black Republican" rule. Republicans said this was merely a threat, a false cry of "Wolf," to frighten people from voting for Lincoln; that this threat which had been made for twenty years would not be carried out and that the northern people should vote for their principles and not be afraid.

Every northern state voted for Lincoln and he was elected. Now that Lincoln was elected and slavery was to be restricted, the question was, What would the South do?

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. State what the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was and give three reasons why it was important.

2. Give the chief principle of the new Republican party and tell of what former party men it was made up.
3. How did the Dred Scott Decision touch the primary principle of the Republican party?
4. Show the importance of the Lincoln-Douglas debate.
5. Show on the map the states that now make up the Kansas-Nebraska territory.
6. What relation did the Kansas-Nebraska Bill bear to the Missouri Compromise? To the Omnibus Bill? To the Dred Scott Decision?
7. Take Massachusetts and Virginia as typical states of the North and South. Write a series of sentences in which you prove that slave labor would not be profitable in Massachusetts while it would be profitable in Virginia.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

1. J. F. Rhodes, "History of the United States," Vol. I, 461–490 (Douglas, Chase, and Popular Sovereignty).
2. Allen Johnson, "Life of Stephen A. Douglas," 348–392 (Joint Debate with Lincoln); 281–306 (The Testing of Popular Sovereignty).
3. A. B. Hart, "Life of S. P. Chase," 133–144 (Opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill).
4. F. B. Sanborn, "Life of John Brown," 619–632 (Death and Character of Brown).
5. Read Noah Brooks's "The Boy Emigrants," "The Boy Settlers" (Early Times in Kansas); Mary Catherwood's "Heroes of the Middle West."

THE UNITED STATES
1861
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
Confederate States
Union Free States
Union Slave Holding States
States Seceding after April 15, on the issue of Coercion
Territories Controlled by the Federal Government
Longitude West from Greenwich
L.J. POATES ENGR'S CO., N.Y.
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
FREE TERRITORIES
FREE STATES
SECEDED STATES
COTTON STATES
UNION SLAVE STATES
SECEDED ON ISSUE OF COERCION
Under Federal Control
Under Confederate Control
Indian Territory
Oregon
Washington
Nevada
Utah Ter.
Colorado Ter.
New Mexico Territory
Dakota Territory
Nebraska Ter.
Kansas
Texas
Arkansas
Missouri
Tennessee
Kentucky
Virginia
North Carolina
South Carolina
Georgia
Alabama
Mississippi
Louisiana
Florida
Minnesota
Wisconsin
Illinois
Indiana
Ohio
Michigan
Iowa
Pennsylvania
New York
Maine
Vermont
New Hampshire
Massachusetts
Rhode Island
Connecticut
New Jersey
Delaware
Maryland
Olympia
Salem
Sacramento
San Francisco
Carson City
Salt Lake City
Denver
Santa Fe
Omaha
Lecompton
Jefferson City
St. Louis
Springfield
Des Moines
Madison
St. Paul
Chicago
Detroit
Lansing
Indianapolis
Cincinnati
Columbus
Frankfort
Nashville
Memphis
Little Rock
Vicksburg
Jackson
Mobile
Montgomery
Atlanta
Charleston
Columbia
Raleigh
Richmond
Washington
Baltimore
Harrisburg
Philadelphia
Albany
Boston
Portland
Augusta
Montreal
Quebec
Toronto
Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
St. Lawrence R.
Missouri R.
Platte R.
Arkansas R.
Red R.
Gila R.
Rio Grande
Mississippi R.
Ohio R.
Tennessee R.
Cumberland R.
Potomac R.
James R.
Austin
Galveston
New Orleans
Wilmington
Norfolk
Savannah
Bahama Is.
Cuba
Yucatan
Mexico
Texas
Indian Territory
Under Confederate Control
Under Federal Control

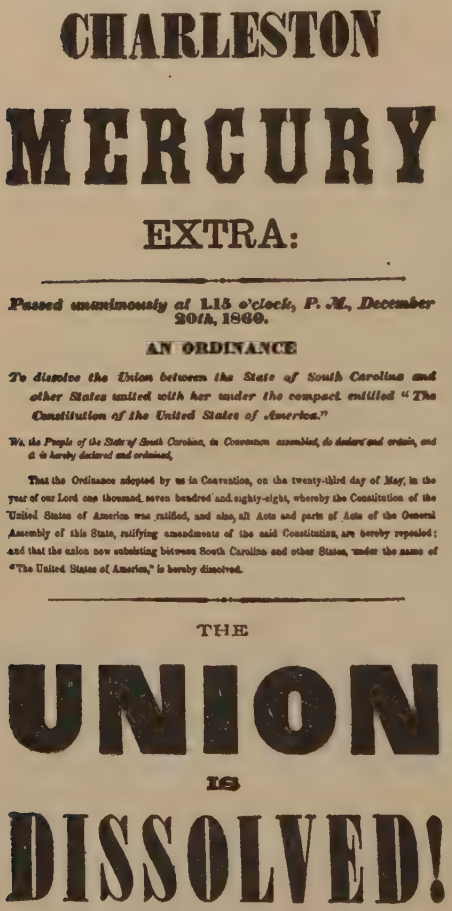
CHAPTER XXVI

HOW THE CIVIL WAR CAME ON

South Carolina Secedes. When Lincoln was elected President the southern states began to secede. South Carolina was the first to withdraw. A state convention was called to decide whether the state should remain in the Union. Three days after the convention met it adopted "an ordinance to dissolve the union between the state of South Carolina and the other states" (December 20, 1860). It was announced that the Union was dissolved and that South Carolina would be "an independent commonwealth" and govern herself. South Carolina claimed the right to do this because, as she said, the Union was only a league of states, not a nation, and the "compact," as she called the Constitution, had been broken, since the northern states would not return fugitive slaves nor permit slaves to be held in the territories.

Formation of the Southern Confederacy. Other slave states followed South Carolina. By February 1, 1861, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana had seceded from the Union, — each state giving about the same reason that South Carolina had given. On February 4, 1861, delegates from these states and Texas met at Montgomery, Alabama, drew up a constitution and established a new union, which they called the Confederate States of America. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, were elected President and Vice-President of the new Confederacy. Disunion had come. In the United States Congress southern senators resigned their seats. United States judges, revenue collectors, and other officers in the South resigned; United States forts and arsenals were seized by the Confederates, as they were now called, and

the nation's authority was defied and its flag hauled down throughout seven states of the Union.



CHARLESTON

MERCURY

EXTRA:

Passed unanimously at 1.15 o'clock, P. M., December 20th, 1860.

AN ORDINANCE

To dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled "The Constitution of the United States of America."

We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained,

That the Ordinance adopted by us in Convention, on the twenty-third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also, all Acts and parts of Acts of the General Assembly of this State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of "The United States of America," is hereby dissolved.

THE

UNION

IS

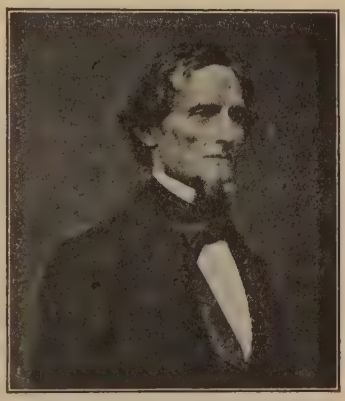
DISSOLVED!

NEWSPAPER BULLETIN POSTED IN THE STREETS OF CHARLESTON

After this the Charleston papers began to put dispatches from the North under the heading of "Foreign News."

President Buchanan and Secession. All this was quite a surprise to the North. It appeared that the Southerners were really going to carry out their threat to break up the Union. Many people in the North began to think that they had made a mistake in voting for Lincoln, and that something must be done to satisfy the South and save the Union. President Buchanan in his message to Congress in December, 1860, blamed the anti-slavery men of the North for all the trouble and said that they had given South Carolina just cause for seceding. Then he said that South Carolina had no constitutional right to secede, but if she did secede nothing could be done to prevent it, because there was no power in the general government to coerce a state. Buchanan at first did nothing to interfere with secession, but under the influence of Union men who came into his cabinet to take the

places of southern men who had resigned, he began to show more determination. General Dix, the new Secretary of the Treasury, sent a ringing message to New Orleans, "If any man attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot!" Led by this Union spirit Buchanan attempted to send provisions to Fort Sumter (January 9, 1861), in the steamer *Star of the West*, but the vessel was fired upon in Charleston harbor and was forced to turn back. This was an open attack on national authority and may be considered in a sense the first act of war.



JEFFERSON DAVIS

The President of the Southern Confederacy was born in Kentucky a short distance from the birthplace of Lincoln. He graduated from West Point, fought in the Mexican War, served as United States Senator, and later as Secretary of War in President Pierce's Cabinet. He served as President of the Confederacy throughout the entire Civil War. On May 10, 1865, he was captured by Union troops at Irwinsville, Ga. After two years of imprisonment at Fortress Monroe he was released on bail and was never brought to trial.

Compromises and Peace Measures. All sorts of plans were proposed in Congress to persuade the South to come back and not break up the Union. The most notable plan was that proposed by Senator Crittenden, of Kentucky, known as the Crittenden Compromise. This provided that the line of 36° 30′ should be restored, with slavery protected south of that line and prohibited north of it. The plan also provided that slavery be retained in the District of Columbia; that fugitive slaves be paid for by the national government, if not returned; and that the Constitution be so amended as to prevent Congress from ever interfering with slavery in the slave states. A Peace Congress at Washington, presided over by Ex-President Tyler, proposed a similar plan. Lincoln and the Republicans were not ready to agree to a further extension of slavery, and no compromise was adopted.

Lincoln's Policy Toward Slavery and the South. Such was the situation when Lincoln became President on March 4, 1861. It was one of the most trying times in the history of the country. Lincoln was not very well known to the people and there was much anxiety as to what he would do. He was not an abolitionist, although he was an anti-slavery man. He said to John Hanks, when on a flatboat trip to New Orleans in 1831, where they had been witnesses of a slave market, "If ever I get a chance to hit slavery, I'll hit it hard." As we know, the chance came to him in 1863, when he gave slavery its death-blow. But when he became President he did not intend to interfere with slavery

LINCOLN'S BIRTHPLACE[1]

[1] In such a poor and lowly cabin, in Hardin County, Ky., Abraham Lincoln was born, Feb. 12, 1809. Lincoln's grandfather came from Virginia about 1781. A year or two later he was killed by the Indians, not in battle, but by stealth, while he was laboring to open a farm in the forest. Lincoln's father grew up without education. He moved to Spencer County, Indiana, when the boy Abe was only seven years old, the year Indiana came into the Union (1816). It was a wild region, with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods. There Lincoln grew up. There were some schools, so-called, but no qualification was ever required of a teacher beyond "readin', writin', and cipherin' to the rule of three." In early manhood Lincoln moved to Illinois and studied law. At various times he was flatboatman, rail-splitter, storekeeper, postmaster in a small village, captain of volunteers in the Black Hawk Indian War, and member of the Illinois legislature. In 1846 he was elected to Congress but was not a candidate for reëlection. In politics he was a Whig, a follower of Henry Clay. He was losing his interest in politics when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854 aroused him again. He then came to the front as a Republican leader. From then until his tragic death his life became a part of his country's history.

From that humble cabin Lincoln rose to a fame that has gone throughout the world. He touched the hearts of the people because, amid burdens and cares such as no President before him had ever borne, the great leader could yet so often turn aside to do some deed of personal loving kindness. The children of America should learn to look upon the picture of his kindly face with reverence. They should allow his work and words to influence their lives, that they may become men and women who, like Lincoln, will be living forces for good citizenship among all the people.

in the southern states. He felt that southern slavery was their business, not his. He said in his inaugural address: "I have no purpose to interfere with slavery in the states where it exists. I have no lawful right to do so and I have no inclination to do so." He wished the southern states to have their full rights in the Union according to the Constitution.

Lincoln believed that if slavery could be kept from expanding it was doomed to die. *No further extension of slavery*, — that was the principle for which he stood and he was not willing to give it up for any more compromises. On that principle his party had won the victory after years of struggle, and Lincoln said that if it were given up now and slavery were allowed to extend, the whole fight would have to be gone through with again. He wished to avoid war and bloodshed, but if the South would destroy the Union by war rather than see it live without slavery extension, Lincoln would accept war rather than see it perish. He believed that no state had a right to secede. "The Union is unbroken," he said, "and to the extent of my ability I shall take care that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the states." He therefore proposed to hold all the property and places belonging to the government.

THE BOMBARDMENT OF FORT SUMTER IN CHARLESTON HARBOR, S. C., APRIL 13, 1861. THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR

War Begins at Fort Sumter. There were now two governments claiming authority within the territory of the United States. The Confederate government sent ambassadors to Washington to get peaceable possession of the southern forts that were still in the hands of the United States. Of course, President Lincoln could not receive these ambassadors and thus recognize the

existence of another government within the Union. Nor would he give up the forts. When he decided to send provisions and reënforcements to Fort Sumter, General Beauregard, the Confederate commander, was ordered to open fire upon the fort, April 13, 1861. "Having defended the fort for thirty-four hours," says Major Anderson, who commanded the Union troops, "until the quarters were entirely burned, the main gates destroyed by fire, the magazine surrounded by flame, ammunition gone, and no provision remaining but pork, I accepted the terms offered by General Beauregard, and marched out of the fort on Sunday afternoon, the 14th, with colors flying, drums beating, and saluting my flag with fifty guns."

What the North Fought for. Thus it was that the Civil War began, one of the greatest and most dreadful civil wars in human history. Slavery had caused secession and secession had led to war, but it must be understood that slavery was not the object of the war. The North did not go to war and invade the South in order to abolish slavery. It was to save the life of the nation and to preserve the Union. The flag had been fired on, and they were determined that there should be but one flag and one republic within the United States. They believed the Union was not a mere league of states, but rather that it was one nation not to be destroyed at the will of any state. They looked upon secession as rebellion and they said that the Constitution and the laws should be enforced throughout the land. In the very beginning of the war Congress declared that the purpose of the war was not to interfere with slavery but to save the Union and enforce the laws. And in the midst of the war Lincoln said that if he could save the Union by freeing all the slaves, he would do that; if he could save the Union by leaving them all in bondage, he would do that; and if he could save the Union by freeing some of the slaves and leaving others in bondage, he would do that; his chief object was to save the Union.

What the South Fought for. On the other hand, in justice to the South, it must be remembered that while slavery led the

South into war, it was not slavery that the southern soldiers took up arms to defend. The great majority of them never owned a slave. But they believed that their states had a right to secede and that their first allegiance was due to their state. They were fighting for home rule, for local self-government, for states' rights and independence. They were brave, sincere, and true to their convictions. They did not think that the Union was a *nation*, but that each state was "sovereign" and had a right to determine its own course. Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas did not secede till after the war began, and they went with the South not to defend slavery, but because they would not permit the national government to "coerce" a state.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Give an account of the last attempts to save the Union by compromise.
2. Explain Lincoln's policy toward slavery and the South.
3. Tell how the Civil War began. Show how slavery caused the war.
4. Tell what the North fought for. What the South fought for.
5. In what ways was the South the aggressor?
6. On your map name the seceding states; the border states. Locate the Potomac River, the Shenandoah Valley, Montgomery, Richmond, Baltimore, Chesapeake Bay.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

1. Edward Channing, "Students' History of the United States," 501–502 (Underlying Cause of Secession).
2. F. E. Chadwick, "Causes of the Civil War," 166–183 (Schemes of Compromise).
3. W. E. Dodd, "Life of Jefferson Davis," 215–225 (The Formation of the Confederacy).

CHAPTER XXVII

THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF THE WAR, 1861–1863

The National Uprising. After the fall of Fort Sumter President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand volunteers for three months' service. Mass meetings were held all over the land and the people were aroused. Men of all parties rallied around the flag in a fine spirit of patriotism. It was a great uprising of the people to defend the life of the nation. But little did the people think when the war began what a conflict was before them. Very few thought it would last so long as a year. Wm. H. Seward, the Secretary of State, said "the trouble would blow over in sixty days," and some one said General Sherman was crazy for saying that it would take two hundred thousand men and four years to subdue the South. Northern troops hurried forward to protect Washington. The Sixth Massachusetts Regiment had to fight its way through Baltimore in the face of rioters, and some of the soldiers and citizens were killed. Here was the first bloodshed of the war, April 19, 1861.[1]

The Strength of the North and of the South. Twenty-two states stood for the Union, eleven for the Confederacy. The twenty-two states had a population of about 22,000,000, including half a million slaves. The eleven states had a population of 9,000,000, — 3,500,000 of them being slaves. Thus the free white people were about four to one on the Union side.

The North was also stronger in wealth and resources, in sailors and ships and naval supplies, in skilled laborers and means of transportation. The South was more dependent on the rest of the world for its manufactured articles, — "for almost every

[1] This was the anniversary of the Battle of Lexington.

yard of cloth," as a southern writer said, "and every coat and boot that we wear, for axes, scythes, tubs, and buckets," for "everything from matches and shoe pegs to steam-ships and statuary." In wheat, corn, oats, meats, and milk, — in everything that would afford feed for horses and food for men the South was greatly inferior. The South relied chiefly upon one product, cotton. When her cotton could not be sold abroad the South was fatally crippled. This will help us to understand why the South failed in the war and the North succeeded. It was owing to superior numbers, resources, and greater industrial power in the North. In manly courage, in military capacity, in self-sacrifice and patriotic devotion to their cause, the people of the South were equal to those of the North.

The Battle of Bull Run. General Beauregard, the "hero of Fort Sumter," was in command of a Confederate force of twenty-two thousand men on Bull Run creek, near Manassas, about thirty-five miles southwest of Washington. The North was impatient to end the war. "On to Richmond!" "On to Richmond!" was the cry. General Winfield Scott was in command of the Union army. Against his better judgment he was induced to order an attack. General McDowell with about thirty thousand troops marched out from Washington in fine array. On July 21, 1861, at Bull Run was fought the first important battle of the war. At first it seemed that the Union troops would gain the victory, but reënforcements came to the Confederates and the Union army was utterly defeated. It ran back to Washington like "a confused and disorganized mob." The Confederates were so disorganized by their victory that they did not pursue the Union army and capture Washington as they might have done.[1]

Some of the Southerners believed the war was as good as over.

[1] It was in this battle that the Confederate general, "Stonewall" Jackson, first came into prominence. The Union troops were turning the left flank of the Confederates when one of their brigade commanders in rallying his men shouted, "See Jackson's brigade standing like a stone wall." *Stonewall* stuck to Jackson throughout the war, and it is the name by which this great soldier will ever be known.

The Confederate cause revived in Missouri and Kentucky. The North was depressed, but there soon came new determination and energy. The northern people now saw that the war would not end in three months, and that their armies would have to be drilled and disciplined before they would fight well. Congress voted to raise five hundred million dollars and five hundred thousand men. Soldiers were now enlisted for three years, or for the war. General McClellan, who had been successful in driving the Confederates out of West Virginia, was called to take command, and he spent several months in organizing the raw volunteers and drilling them into good fighting troops.

The Navy and the Blockade. Let us see what the navy was doing while the army was being drilled. One of the first things President Lincoln did when the war began was to declare the southern ports in a state of blockade. That is, no vessels were to be allowed to come in or go out, on penalty of being sunk or seized. This was to prevent foreign products and supplies from coming to the South. The navy began to enforce this blockade order as fast as ships and sailors could be obtained. The South obtained "blockade runners," — swift vessels whose business it was to steal out of southern ports on dark nights, carrying cotton out and military stores in. Some cotton got out in this way, but very little compared with the vast amount exported before the war began.[1] The result was that a cotton famine occurred in Europe. The cotton mills in England had to close, men were thrown out of employment and there was much suffering. It was thought that on this account England would be led to help the South.[2] In the South many necessary articles like food, shoes, clothing, and medicine, rose to very high prices. Before the war ended, flour was $250 a barrel, meal $50 a barrel, and

[1] In 1860 the cotton exports came to over $200,000,000; in 1862, to only about $4,000,000.

[2] The English middle classes were generally favorable to the North in the war, although the aristocratic and governing classes sympathized with the Confederacy.

corn $25 a bushel. A turkey cost $60 and a pair of boots $250.[1] The blockade was one of the most effective ways of bringing about the final surrender of the South.

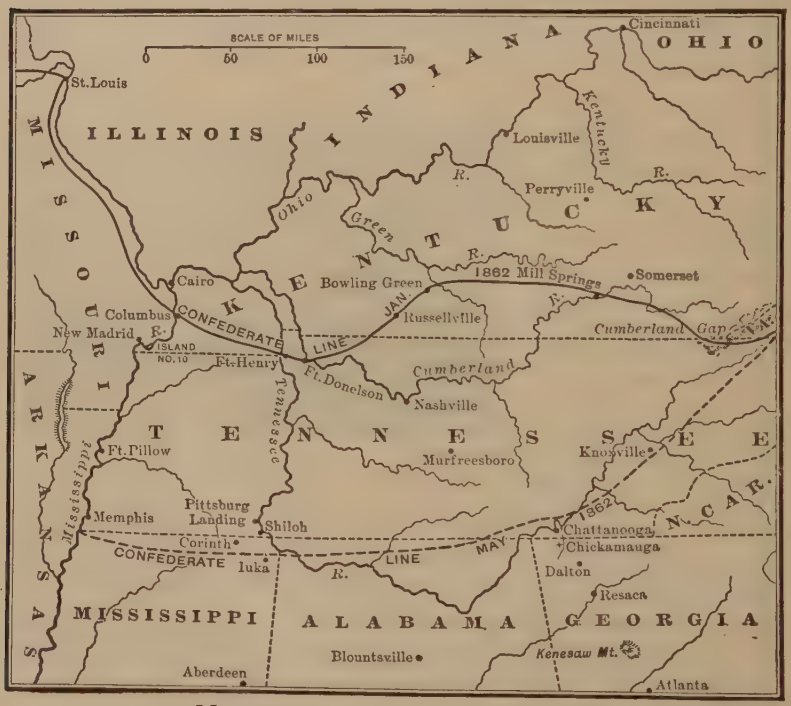
The Monitor and the Merrimac. Early in 1862 it appeared that the blockade might be broken up. The Confederates raised the United States steam frigate *Merrimac*, which was one of the ships burned to the water's edge and sunk at the Norfolk navy-yard by the Unionists to prevent its falling into the hands of the Southerners. They made it into an "iron-clad," and it steamed into Hampton Roads and sank a number of United States war-ships which were stationed there. It was clear that none of the wooden ships of the Union fleet could fight against the big iron-clad. Shot and shell glanced harmlessly off her sloping iron sides. It seemed that the *Merrimac* would destroy the rest of the Union fleet at Norfolk, break the blockade there and at other ports, and perhaps attack Washington and Philadelphia. Just in time the *Monitor*, looking like a "Yankee cheese-box on a raft," hove in sight. This was a new Union iron-clad built by John Ericsson in the Brooklyn navy-yard to meet the *Merrimac*. On March 9, 1862, a sea duel followed between the two iron-clads, and the *Monitor* drove the *Merrimac* to shelter and saved the Union fleet and blockade. It was then seen that wooden ships would have to give way to vessels of iron and steel in naval warfare.

THE MONITOR AND THE MERRIMAC

The Trent Affair. In the fall of 1861 President Davis sent

[1] These prices were partly due to the large amount of paper money issued by the Confederacy.

two ambassadors, Mason and Slidell, to Great Britain, to try to get that country to recognize the independence of the Confederacy. They ran the blockade and reached Havana, where they took passage for England on a British steamer, the *Trent*. The *Trent* was stopped at sea by the United States warship *San Jacinto*, commanded by Captain Wilkes, and Mason and Slidell were



MILITARY SITUATION IN THE WEST, 1862

taken off as prisoners. Great Britain felt that this was an insult to her flag and a violation of her rights as a neutral nation, and she made a sharp demand for the release of the prisoners. The northern people were very much pleased with the conduct of Captain Wilkes, but President Lincoln and Secretary Seward saw that his act violated the principles concerning neutral rights that we had contended for in the War of 1812, and Mason and

Slidell were released. Many people in the North felt that Great Britain had acted in an unfriendly manner in this affair and there was some hostile feeling toward that country on this account.

Objects of the War in the West. Let us now turn to the war in the West, and as we do so let us keep in mind three objects which the Union forces had in view in that region: (1) To hold the "Border States." (2) To control the principal rivers. (3) To invade the South, cut the Confederacy in two, and destroy the Confederate army.

The Border States. The states of Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland and Delaware were known as "border states" during the war. They were slave states on the border between the Confederacy and the free states of the North. They did not secede, and the leaders of the Confederacy were greatly disappointed that all the slave states did not unite with them. Sentiment in the border states was greatly divided and these states furnished many soldiers to both armies, members of the same family, in some instances, choosing different sides in the contest. Union sentiment was strong in the mountain region of eastern Kentucky, East Tennessee, and West Virginia.[1] The earliest victories of the Union cause were gained in West Virginia, and President Lincoln was very anxious to relieve the Union men of East Tennessee, who were standing loyally for the Union even against their own state.

To keep the border states in the Union was President Lincoln's chief desire for the first months of the war, because he thought if these slave states stood firmly by the Union it would do more to discourage and defeat the Confederates than anything else. Maryland soon decided for the Union, and this helped to make the national capital safe; but Lincoln was even more anxious to save Missouri and Kentucky.

The Importance of the Rivers. It was very important in controlling these states to control the rivers, the Ohio, the Cum-

[1] When Virginia seceded from the Union, West Virginia seceded from Virginia. Forty of the western counties of Virginia were recognized by Congress as a new state and admitted to the Union in 1863.

berland, the Tennessee, and the Mississippi. A successful invasion of the South could not be made without controlling these rivers. An army going into an enemy's country must keep open a way to receive its supplies. A railroad may be interrupted or torn up by the enemy, but transportation by water is not so easily prevented. It was desired to keep the Mississippi open to the trade of the Northwest and as a means of transporting troops to attack the Confederacy in the rear. Besides, if the North could control these rivers it could cut the Confederacy in two and shut off supplies coming to the Confederate armies from the West. For these reasons it was very important to hold Missouri and Kentucky in the Union. In the struggle for Missouri the battles of Wilson's Creek, August, 1861, and Pea Ridge, March, 1862, were important conflicts.

The Struggle for Kentucky: Forts Henry and Donelson. Kentucky at first attempted to be neutral, but this was found to be impossible. The Confederates occupied Columbus on the Mississippi and invaded the state at Cumberland Gap in the Allegheny Mountains. The Confederate line of defense extended between these two points through Bowling Green where General Albert Sidney Johnston, the commander of all the Confederate forces in the West, had his headquarters with about fifteen thousand men. General Ulysses S. Grant, with a Union force, occupied Paducah, at the mouth of the Tennessee. The Confederates built two strong forts, Fort Henry and Fort Donelson, on the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, about twelve miles apart. General Grant with the troops, and Commodore Foote with the gunboats, attacked these forts. Fort Henry was soon abandoned by the Confederates, who concentrated their forces at Fort Donelson. After desperate fighting the Confederates were defeated and their commander asked General Grant for his terms of surrender. "No terms except unconditional surrender; I propose to move immediately upon your works," replied Grant. The fort was surrendered with twelve thousand prisoners, forty guns, and many military stores.

Results of Grant's Victory at Donelson. The victory of Fort Donelson was one of the turning-points of the war. It was the first great Union victory and the North was jubilant. It caused great alarm in the South. Their whole line of defense was broken up. The Confederates had to abandon Columbus, Bowling Green, and Nashville. All of Kentucky and most of Tennessee came under Federal control. The victory resulted in a Union advance of two hundred miles into the territory of the enemy; and Chattanooga, the key to East Tennessee, and Vicksburg, the strongest point on the lower Mississippi, were now open to attack. "Unconditional Surrender" Grant was the hero of the hour. He deserved the praises he received and was promoted by Lincoln.

The Battle of Shiloh. The Union forces did not follow up their victory as vigorously as they might have done. The Confederate army was not captured nor broken up. Their commander established a second line of defense reaching from Memphis to Chattanooga, with Corinth, Mississippi, as a center. Within less than two months General Johnston had forty thousand men at Corinth. Grant with more than forty thousand men advanced to Pittsburg Landing. Here he awaited General Buell, who was coming from Nashville with the army of the Cumberland, about thirty thousand strong. With their combined forces they expected to attack and overwhelm the Confederates at Corinth. Johnston decided to take the aggressive and attack Grant's army before Buell could arrive. After a rapid march of twenty miles from Corinth on Sunday morning, April 6, 1862, the Confederates struck the Union army at Shiloh. Here was fought one of the bloodiest and most famous battles of the war. On the first day the Union forces were driven back. But General Buell and General Lew Wallace came with reënforcements, and on the second day's fight the Unionists outnumbered and outfought the Confederates and drove them from the field. In this battle the Confederates lost their able commander, General Albert Sidney Johnston, whose death was a serious blow to the

South. About ten thousand Confederates and twelve thousand Unionists were killed or wounded at Shiloh. As a result of the battle the Confederates were forced out of Corinth and at the same time they surrendered Island No. 10, to which they could no longer send supplies. Fort Pillow was soon taken and the Union gunboats could then advance down the Mississippi to Memphis, and that city surrendered to the Federal forces (June 6).

Capture of New Orleans. Vicksburg and Port Hudson were

BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS
Union gunboats passing the forts below the city.

now the only points on the Mississippi in possession of the Confederates. New Orleans, which commanded the lower Mississippi, had been captured by the Union forces, April 24, 1862. The city was guarded on the South by two forts, Forts Jackson and St. Philip. Admiral Farragut, entering the mouth of the Mississippi with a fleet of gunboats, first bombarded the forts for six days without effect. He then decided to run past them in the night. He made the perilous passage successfully and New Orleans was compelled to surrender to the Union forces. Gen-

eral Benjamin F. Butler, with a force of fifteen thousand men, took possession of the city.

Bragg's Raid: Battle of Stone's River. The Confederates had been defeated at many points, but their army was still in the field. General Bragg, now in command, made a bold dash across Tennessee into Kentucky. Buell pursued and an indecisive battle was fought at Perryville, Kentucky (October 8, 1862). Bragg turned southward with great quantities of supplies, stop-

LINCOLN AND HIS OFFICERS

A true camp scene in the war. The small officer in front of Lincoln is McClellan. He was called "Little Mac."

ping at Murfreesboro. Here he was attacked by General Rosecrans, now in command of the Union forces, in one of the hardest fought battles of the war. This is also known as the battle of Stone's River. It lasted for three days (December 31, 1862, January 1, 2, 1863), and the Union forces lost about fourteen thousand men, without any decisive results. At the close of 1862 the Confederates still held Vicksburg and Chattanooga, and their armies still seemed to be a match for the Union forces.

The War in the East: Lee and Jackson. In the summer of

1862, in his "Peninsular Campaign," McClellan failed to take Richmond, though he fought several hard battles and came within three miles of the city. General Robert E. Lee, who had succeeded General Joseph E. Johnston in command of the Con-

THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN

federate forces, had an able support in "Stonewall" Jackson. Lee and Jackson were two of the greatest soldiers of the war. In defending Richmond their plan was to prevent reënforcements from coming to McClellan and to gain time to strengthen and fortify the approaches to Richmond. It was with this plan in view that Jackson went on some of his terrible raids. By quick

marches he defeated in rapid succession several divisions of the Union army in the Shenandoah Valley. In thirty-five days Jackson marched two hundred and forty-five miles, won three battles, broke up three separate Union forces, overawed the city of Washington, and kept McDowell's forty thousand men from joining McClellan. He then brought up his own forces to help Lee in the defense of Richmond. Lee and Jackson with their combined forces were ready to meet McClellan's army. After the "Seven Days' Fight" in the peninsula, ending in the hard battle of Malvern Hill (July 1, 1862), McClellan was recalled to Washington. His Peninsular Campaign had failed. He had lost sixteen thousand men in the seven days' fighting, and Richmond was further from capture than ever.

The Battle of Antietam. McClellan, with the Army of the Potomac, was to join the Army of Virginia, forty thousand strong, under General John Pope. But Lee and Jackson, free from the defense of Richmond, now took the aggressive. In the second battle of Bull Run (August 29, 1862), they utterly defeated Pope's army and drove his forces back to the defenses of Washington, where they united with the forces of McClellan. Elated by his success Lee now proposed to carry the war into the North; so he crossed the Potomac into Maryland, his troops singing "Maryland, My Maryland." McClellan pursued, and at Antietam Creek, September 17, 1862, occurred another of the great battles of the war. "More men were killed and wounded on that 17th of September than on any other single day of the whole war." The Union army lost twelve thousand men, and the Confederates nine thousand. It was a drawn battle, but it had the effect of a Union victory, since Lee, defeated in his first attempt to invade the North, retreated across the Potomac.

The Battle of Fredericksburg. McClellan was now superseded in command of the Army of the Potomac by General E. A. Burnside. Burnside rashly led his army against strong fortifications at Fredericksburg and in a single battle lost thirteen thousand men (December 13, 1862), while the Confederates lost but

four thousand. It was a terrible slaughter. Burnside was dismissed, and "Fighting Joe" Hooker was appointed to command the army. In the East, the year 1862 ended with the Union cause in defeat and gloom.

Slavery and the War. In the very beginning of the war it was hard to decide what to do with the slaves who came into the Union lines. Some generals wished to set them free, others wished to send them back to their masters. In May, 1861, General Benjamin F. Butler declared such slaves "contraband of war"; that is, property good for war purposes, which, therefore, may be taken from the enemy. Butler put to work the negroes that came to his camp. After this negroes were often known as "contrabands." In Missouri General Fremont declared free all slaves of disunion masters, while General Hunter declared free all the slaves in his military district; but President Lincoln overruled these orders because he felt that commanders in the field had no authority to free the slaves, — that was his province, — and because he wished to show that the war was being carried on to save the Union, not to destroy slavery; besides, he wanted the support of the Union slaveholders in the border states, and he was afraid that these border men would go with the Confederacy if the slaves were set free. Early in the war (August, 1861) Congress passed an act (Confiscation Act) to take away from their masters all slaves that were allowed to be used in any service against the United States. In 1862 slavery was abolished in the District of Columbia and prohibited in the territories. More and more the people of the North were coming to see that the best way to save the Union was to destroy slavery. The suffering and bloodshed of the war had caused a bitter feeling and northern men said that the best way to punish the South and end the war was to take away all the slaves.

The Emancipation Proclamation. Lincoln was gradually coming to the conclusion that the way to restore the Union was to destroy slavery. He first tried to get the border state slaveowners to emancipate their slaves and accept pay for them. He

told them that "two legged property" was becoming very uncertain in value, and that "*bonds* were more valuable than *bondmen*." When they rejected this plan Lincoln decided that as a means of saving the Union he would employ the army to destroy slavery. Public opinion was ready for emancipation, and Lincoln made known his purpose to his cabinet in July, 1862. Secretary Seward persuaded him to wait for a Union victory. Lincoln

LINCOLN READING THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION TO THE CABINET

Stanton	Chase	Lincoln	Welles	Smith	Seward	Blair	Bates
Sec. of War	*Treas.*		*Navy*	*Inter.*	*Sec. of State*	*P. M. Gen.*	*Atty. Gen.*

said he then promised God that as soon as victory came to the Union arms he would free the slaves. Therefore, after the victory of Antietam, when Lee had been forced back into Virginia, Lincoln issued, on September 22, 1862, his preliminary proclamation, declaring that on January 1, 1863, "all persons held as slaves in any state the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free."

No attention was paid to this in the South and, accordingly,

on January 1, 1863, Lincoln issued the famous *Emancipation Proclamation*, which gave slavery its death blow. Thus the cause of the war ceased before the conflict itself had ceased.

This act made Lincoln immortal. He became known as the "Great Emancipator." Thereafter all the world knew that victory for the Union meant liberty for the slave. England could not now consistently aid the South against the Union. Thousands of slaves were soon allowed to bear arms and help save the Union and fight for their own freedom.[1]

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Write a brief biography of Abraham Lincoln up to 1862.
2. Compare the strength of the two sections, North and South, in 1860.
3. Explain the importance of the blockade and the Monitor-Merrimac fight.
4. Explain Lincoln's policy toward the "Border States"?
5. Trace on the map the Confederate line of defense before and after the Union victory at Fort Donelson. State the result of this victory.
6. Explain the Emancipation Proclamation. Tell how it came about.
7. What did President Lincoln regard as the chief purpose of the war? How did this influence his policy toward slavery?
8. Show the importance of the rivers in the war.

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3. Daniel Wait Howe, "Civil War Times," 56–96 (Camp, March, and Battle); 106–122 (Battle of Stone's River).
4. J. K. Hosmer, "The Appeal to Arms," 138–152 (Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley); 201–217 (The Government and Emancipation); 234–247 (The Gloom of Fredericksburg).
5. "The Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," Century Company, Illustrated. Consult this for many interesting aspects of the war.

[1] Lincoln freed the slaves as a "war measure." His proclamation did not apply to the loyal slave states nor to those parts of the South where the authority of the United States was recognized. Slavery was abolished in the Border States by the acts of the states themselves, or by the Thirteenth Amendment.

"Stonewall" Jackson
1824–1863

James Longstreet
1821–1904

P. G. T. Beauregard
1818–1893

Albert Sidney Johnston
1803–1862

Joseph E. Johnston
1807–1891

John Bell Hood
1831–1879

Simon Bolivar Buckner
1823–

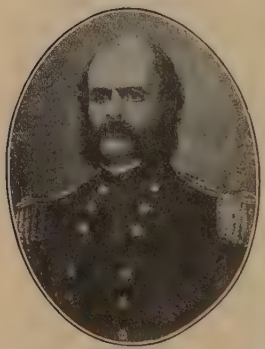
Group of Confederate Generals

PHILIP HENRY SHERIDAN
1831–1888

GEORGE H. THOMAS
1816–1870

GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN
1826–1885

WILLIAM TECUMSEH
SHERMAN
1820–1891



AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE
1824–1881

JOSEPH HOOKER
1814–1879

GEORGE GORDON MEADE
1815–1872

GROUP OF UNION GENERALS

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE LAST TWO YEARS OF THE WAR, 1863–1865

Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. By May, 1863, the Army of the Potomac had been recruited and reorganized with General Hooker in command. It was now a fine army of one hundred

A Union Charge at Gettysburg

and twenty-five thousand men, but Hooker was defeated in the great battle of Chancellorsville with a loss of seventeen thousand men (May 2, 3, 1863). In this battle the Confederates lost their great leader, "Stonewall" Jackson, who was accidentally shot by

one of his own men. Lee said he felt as if he had lost his right arm in losing Jackson.

Lee now prepared for a second invasion of the North. With a fine army of seventy thousand men, flushed with victory, he went down the Shenandoah Valley through Maryland into Pennsylvania. There was great excitement in the North. The militia was called to arms. Hooker's army, one hundred thousand strong, followed Lee, to head him off, if possible, from Harrisburg and Philadelphia. Hooker, at his own request, was relieved of the command, and General George G. Meade was placed at the head of the Union army. The two great armies met on the famous field of Gettysburg, and, after a fearful battle of three days, Lee's army was defeated and forced to retreat southward.

Soldiers' Monument at Gettysburg

Importance of the Battle of Gettysburg. The battle of Gettysburg was the turning-point in the Civil War. It was the only battle fought on northern soil. It marked the high tide of the Confederacy. Nearly two more years of war were required before the South laid down its arms, but the Confederates were never again so strong and dangerous as they were on that memorable

> "third of July, '63,
> The very day that General Lee,
> The Flower of Southern chivalry,
> Baffled and beaten backward reeled
> From a stubborn Meade and a barren field.[1]

[1] Read Bret Harte's "John Burns of Gettysburg."

IOWA
KANSAS
MISSOURI
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
FLORIDA
INDIAN TER.
TEXAS
GULF OF MEXICO
Keokuk
Peoria
Bloomington
Lafayette
Quincy
Chillicothe
Macon
Atchison
St. Joseph
Leavenworth
Lexington
Hannibal
SPRINGFIELD
Danville
INDIANAPOLIS
Terre Haute
Kansas City
Boonville
Mexico
Sedalia
Alton
St. Louis
Vincennes
Mitchell
Seymour
JEFFERSON CITY
Clinton
Warsaw
Carondelet
Centralia
Salem
New Albany
Osage
Nevada
Rolla
St. Genevieve
Evansville
Fort Scott
Lebanon
Henderson
Elizabethtown
Iron Mt.
Ironton
Frederick-town
Owensboro
Springfield
Cape Girardeau
Carthage
Ozark
Dug Spr.
Neosho
Caseyville
CONFEDERATE
Poplar Bluff
Cairo
Bowling Green
Bentonville
Fayetteville
West Plains
Belmont
Columbus
Hickman
Franklin
Pea Ridge
Salem
Union City
Fulton
Prairie Grove
Mt. Olive
Batesville
Jacksonport
Van Buren
Newport
Fort Smith
Searcy
Desarc
Helena
Memphis
Shiloh
Corinth
Iuka
Tuscumbia
Decatur
Hot Springs
Little Red R.
Arkadelphia
Princeton
Arkansas Post
Napoleon
Camden
Oxford
Aberdeen
Grenada
Bloomsville
Columbus
Birmingham
Talladega
Artesia
Tuscaloosa
Calera
Marshall
Monroe
Vicksburg
Meridian
York
Selma
Sabine Cross Roads
Mansfield
Natchitoches
Pleasant Grove
Pleasant Hill
Red R.
Gr. Gulf
Port Gibson
Natchez
Brookhaven
Woodville
Osyka
Alexandria
Ft. de Russey
Marksville
St. Francisville
Port Hudson
Opelousas
Ft. Comfort
Ft. Bute la Rose
Vermillionville
BATON ROUGE
Mobile
Pensacola
Galveston
Franklin
Brashear
New Orleans
Ft. St. Philip
Ft. Jackson
Ft. Morgan
Ft. Pickens
SANTA ROSA I.
Belize
Ohio R.
Mississippi R.
Missouri R.
Arkansas R.
Red R.
Tennessee R.
Cumberland R.
Wabash R.
Kaskaskia R.
Big Black R.
Yazoo R.
Pearl R.
Alabama R.
Tombigbee R.
Sabine R.
Trinity R.
Brazos R.
Colorado R.
Nueces R.
Rio Grande R.
Ozark Mts.
Iron Mt.
Pea Ridge
Prairie Grove
Ft. Pillow
Ft. Harris
Jackson
Pittsburg Ldg.
Columbia
Savannah
Shelbyville
Pulaski
Waynesboro
Franklin
Murfreesboro
Nashville
Gallatin
Bridgeport
Stevenson
Huntsville
Lookout Mt.
Chattanooga
1863-4

THE CIVIL WAR
1861-65
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200
L. L. POATES ENGR'G CO., N.Y.
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
NEW JERSEY
MARYLAND
DELAWARE
WEST VIRGINIA
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
OHIO
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Philadelphia
Baltimore
WASHINGTON
RICHMOND
Pittsburg
Harrisburg
Wheeling
Cincinnati
Columbus
Charleston
Savannah
Wilmington
Raleigh
Norfolk
Petersburg
Fredericksburg
Manassas
Alexandria
Gettysburg
Hagerstown
Annapolis
Trenton
Lynchburg
Appomattox C.H.
Charlottesville
Goldsboro
Kinston
Newbern
Morehead City
Beaufort
Ft. Macon
Ft. Fisher
C. Fear
Wilmington
Smithville
Camden
Columbia
Augusta
Atlanta
Macon
Millen
Charleston
Ft. Sumter
St. Helena Sound
Port Royal
Ft Pulaski
Ft. McAllister
Tybee I.
Darien
Brunswick
Ft. Clinch
Fernandina
Jacksonville
St. Augustine
Palatka
Cedar Keys
Tallahassee
Albany
Jesup
Waycross
Thomasville
Dupont
Live Oak
Marks
Montgomery
Selma
Mobile
Vicksburg
Memphis
Nashville
Knoxville
Chattanooga
Atlanta
Columbus
Macon
Augusta
Charlotte
Salisbury
Greensboro
Danville
Lynchburg
Richmond
Petersburg
Norfolk
Suffolk
Weldon
Winton
Elizabeth City
Plymouth
Washington
Newbern
Kinston
Goldsboro
Fayetteville
Averysboro
Morehead City
Beaufort
Ft. Macon
C. Hatteras
Hatteras Inlet
Pamlico Sd.
Albemarle Sd.
Roanoke I.
Roanoke R.
Dismal Swamp
Great Dismal Swamp
Cape Fear R.
Neuse R.
Tar R.
Pee Dee R.
Santee R.
Edisto R.
Broad R.
Savannah R.
Ogeechee R.
Altamaha R.
Satilla R.
St. Marys R.
St. Johns R.
Suwanee R.
Apalachicola R.
Chattahoochee R.
Flint R.
Ocmulgee R.
Oconee R.
Ocklocknee R.
Withlacoochee R.
Escambia R.
Alabama R.
Tombigbee R.
Tennessee R.
Cumberland R.
Kanawha R.
Big Sandy R.
Guyandotte R.
Monongahela R.
Potomac R.
Shenandoah R.
James R.
York R.
Rappahannock R.
Rapidan R.
Big Sewell Mt.
Gauley Br.
Carnifex Ferry
Clarksburg
Parkersburg
Pomeroy
Buckhannon
Beverly
Phillippi
Grafton
Cumberland Gap
Knoxville
Chattanooga
Nashville
Memphis
Vicksburg
Mobile
Montgomery
Selma
Columbus
Macon
Augusta
Atlan

Gettysburg is famous, also, as the scene of General Pickett's celebrated charge, one of the most splendid in the history of war. With fifteen thousand men, the bravest of the southern army, Pickett charged over an open plain, up Cemetery Ridge that was defended by the troops of General Hancock. The ranks of Pickett's men were plowed by shot and shell, but they marched on, some of them to the very ramparts behind which Hancock's men were standing. "Give them the cold steel, boys! Give them the cold steel!" shouted the Confederate leader. Here soldiers on both sides mingled in a terrific struggle, while men fought hand to hand for the possession of the field. The Union position was too strong and the Confederates were repulsed.

Lincoln's Speech at Gettysburg. A part of the battle-field of Gettysburg is now a national cemetery. Many monuments commemorate the valor and patriotism shown on that great field of war, where seventeen thousand "Boys in Blue" suffered death or wounds for the Union, and as many "Boys in Gray" bled and died for what they thought was right. On November 19, 1863, a soldiers' monument was dedicated at Gettysburg by the nation, and President Lincoln made an immortal speech which every American school boy and girl should commit to memory:

"Fourscore and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow, this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here.

It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

The Fall of Vicksburg. On the day that Gettysburg was won Vicksburg surrendered to General Grant, with thirty thousand prisoners of war. Siege and starvation had forced the surrender. The Mississippi was now open its entire length, and as Lincoln said: "The Father of Waters flowed unvexed to the sea." The Confederacy was cut in two, supplies could be cut off from the west, and from this time the Confederacy was doomed. Grant, who had shown great military skill in the Vicksburg campaign, was now considered the most famous Union general.

The Battle of Chickamauga, September 19-20, 1863. While Grant was besieging Vicksburg the armies of Rosecrans and Bragg were pitted against each other in Tennessee. When Bragg had received reënforcements from Lee he attacked the Union forces at Chickamauga Creek, and here a desperate battle was fought. The right wing of Rosecrans's forces was shattered and driven back, but the left of the Union line under General George H. Thomas stubbornly held its ground and saved the army from disaster. Because of his firm stand here "Old Pap Thomas," as the soldiers called him, received the title, "The Rock of Chickamauga."

Chattanooga and Lookout Mountain. Rosecrans retired to Chattanooga, where he was besieged by Bragg's forces. Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge were held by the Confederates. There was no way by which the Union army could retreat, and there was only one single "cracker trail," as the railroad was called, that was open for supplies to the army in Chattanooga.

It seemed for a time as if Rosecrans would be compelled to surrender his whole army.

Grant and Sherman from the siege of Vicksburg, and Hooker from the Army of the Potomac, came to the rescue. Grant was now in command of all the Union forces in the West. On November 24, 1863, Hooker stormed Lookout Mountain in the famous "Battle above the Clouds," carrying the Confederate works by

PASSING THE LINES

A Confederate picture, evidently a pencil sketch made on the spot. It probably represents Union prisoners coming into the Confederate lines. Notice the old-fashioned locomotive.

assault. Sherman and Thomas captured the Confederate defenses on Missionary Ridge. Communication was opened with the army in Chattanooga and Bragg retreated southward to Georgia, and was superseded in command by General Joseph E. Johnston.

Grant and Lee around Richmond. After Gettysburg the Union army followed Lee's army in its retreat to Virginia. Early in 1864 Grant was called to Washington and was made commander-in-chief of all the armies of the United States. Sherman was

placed in command of the Union forces in the West. Grant and Sherman were to press the enemy at the same time, to give the armies in front of them enough to do so that neither could send aid to the other. In May, 1864, Grant's army, one hundred and fifty thousand strong, entered the "Wilderness," the region between the Rapidan and the James. There were several days of terrible fighting in the battles of the Wilderness and Spottsylvania (May 5 to 18). By flanking movements Grant pressed Lee back to the defenses of Richmond, but he could not turn Lee's lines nor break through. Grant resolved to resort again to a direct attack in front. On June 4, 1864, at Cold Harbor, the center of Lee's fortifications, Grant made a last desperate effort to break the Confederate line by assault. Within twenty minutes the Union army was repulsed with terrible slaughter, losing eight thousand men.

The campaign from the Wilderness to Cold Harbor witnessed the bloodiest fighting of the war. It was during this campaign that Grant sent his famous telegram to President Lincoln: "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." He meant that he would hammer and batter Lee's lines until he broke through by sheer fighting force and weight of numbers. The "hammering process" was costing Grant two men to Lee's one. Within less than six weeks Grant had lost nearly forty thousand men; Lee not half so many.

Early's Raid and Sheridan's Ride. Lee now tried to relieve Richmond by threatening Washington. He sent General Jubal Early with twenty thousand men to attack the Federal capital, hoping that Grant would have to withdraw his army from Richmond to defend Washington. Early went down the Shenandoah Valley, the "back-door to Washington," defeated General Lew Wallace at the Monocacy River (July 9, 1864) and pushed on to within a few miles of Washington. Troops from Grant's army came up just in time to save the city from capture. Early's troops made a dash into Pennsylvania, and burned Chambersburg in retaliation for property destroyed by the Union troops in Virginia.

Grant ordered Sheridan to go after Early and to lay waste the Shenandoah Valley, sometimes called the "storehouse of the South." Sheridan was directed "to destroy what he could not consume." Grant wished to prevent the valley from being used for future raids and to destroy it as a granary of supplies for the Confederate armies. Sheridan defeated Early in two battles, (Winchester and Fisher's Creek, September 19 and 21, 1864), and the Confederates retreated up the valley. Sheridan then made a "barren waste" of the country for miles around. He utterly destroyed grain, forage, barns, and agricultural tools, and drove off all the stock. Seventy mills and two thousand barns filled with grain were thus destroyed. It was said that a crow flying over the valley would have to carry his own rations.

Early now had to fight for his supplies. At Cedar Creek (October 19, 1864) by an unexpected onset his men hurled the Union troops back in confused retreat, almost in a stampede. Sheridan was in Winchester nearly "twenty miles away." By his famous ride he came dashing to the scene of battle just in time to save the day. "Come on, boys, we are all right," he shouted, as he galloped along the line waving his hat. "We'll whip them yet and sleep in our old quarters to-night." Sheridan stemmed the tide and turned the defeat into victory. The battle of Cedar Creek ended forever the Confederate raids in the Shenandoah Valley.[1]

Political Opposition to the War. Many people in the North were opposed to continuing the war. Taxes were becoming heavy, a great debt was piling up, and many people saw no hope of defeating the Confederate armies. President Lincoln was ready for peace at any time that the South would lay down its arms, acknowledge the authority of the Union, and abandon slavery. But many people thought that the armies should cease fighting for a time, and that a convention of all the states ought to be called with the idea of bringing about some kind of compromise. Lincoln thought no such plan would be safe, or do any good,

[1] Read Thomas Buchanan Reed's "Sheridan's Ride."

and that the South would never consent to restore the Union until its armies were beaten in the field. The war had lasted so long that there were not enough volunteers and it was necessary to draft men for the army. This caused more opposition; in some places the draft officers were resisted, and in New York City there were serious riots that had to be suppressed by the troops.

The Democrats Nominate General McClellan for President. Many people in the North were bitterly opposed to Lincoln and the way the war was conducted. Some of these, known as "Peace Democrats," organized a secret society known as "The Knights of the Golden Circle." Its members were called "Copperheads" or "Butternuts," and they generally sympathized with the South, but they were not numerous enough to do much harm. The great majority of the Democrats were loyal to the Union, but they said the North ought not to try to subjugate the southern people, but ought rather to negotiate with them. They denounced the draft and blamed Lincoln for violating the Constitution, for imprisoning men without trial, for declaring the slaves free, for enlisting negro troops, and for not bringing the war to an end. In national convention they declared the war "a failure as a means of restoring the Union," and nominated General George B. McClellan for President.

Lincoln Reëlected. The "National Union Party," as the Republicans were then called, renominated Lincoln for President in 1864. Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, was put on the ticket for Vice-President to show the national character of the party. The Republicans were successful and Lincoln was reëlected. This meant that the war should go on until the South submitted, and it was now pushed by the national forces more vigorously than ever.

The Fall of Atlanta. As Grant began his fighting in the Wilderness Sherman began his advance from Chattanooga to Atlanta. He had one hundred thousand seasoned soldiers. He was opposed by General Joseph E. Johnston with an army of about sixty-five thousand men. There were several severe battles, at

Resaca, Dallas, and Kenesaw Mountain, in May and June, 1864. The farther Sherman advanced the weaker his forces became, because he had to leave men along the line to guard the single railroad over which his supplies came. Johnston, who had been gradually falling back toward Atlanta, expected to give battle when he could do so with more nearly equal forces. But the southern people did not understand this retreating policy and President Davis, who disliked Johnston, removed him and put

"Camp Sorghum"
A Southern Hospital Camp in Civil War Times. From a pencil sketch made at the time.

General J. B. Hood in command. Hood was expected to fight without delay. He made three furious but rash attacks on Sherman's forces around Atlanta; he was defeated each time and was then compelled to withdraw his forces and surrender the city.

Thomas and the Battle of Nashville. From Atlanta Hood marched north into Tennessee with about fifty thousand men, hoping to draw Sherman after him. Sherman thought the Confederate plan was "to decoy him out of Georgia," and he did not propose to turn back. He sent General George H. Thomas

with a part of the army to Nashville, as he thought the "Rock of Chickamauga" would be able to take care of Hood. A drawn battle was fought at Franklin (November 30, 1864), after which Hood advanced farther toward Nashville. Thomas now showed that he knew how to wait and prepare. The authorities at Washington thought he was too slow, and they were so impatient that they were about to put General John A. Logan in his place. Thomas said he would resign, but he would not fight before he was ready. When the time was ripe he struck. In the battle of Nashville (December 15, 16, 1864) he utterly overwhelmed Hood's forces. Thomas followed up his victory with such vigor that Hood's army was scattered into remnants. Thomas had accomplished one of the most decisive successes of the war, for the Confederate army in the West was now completely overthrown and destroyed, and there was no material out of which another could be made.

Sherman's March to the Sea. There was now no southern army to oppose Sherman. That great commander, after being convinced that Thomas was a match for Hood, turned to carry out a plan that he had long had in mind. It was to march from Atlanta to the sea, again cut the Confederacy in two and then go to Richmond, a march of a thousand miles in all. He would come up in the rear of Lee's army, unite with Grant, and end the war. On his march he would tear up railroads, destroy all munitions of war, the cotton, the factories, the machine shops, and the crops, and thus, as Sheridan had done in the Shenandoah, destroy all the resources of the country that could be used by the South for carrying on the war.

It was on the morning of November 15, 1864, that Sherman, with sixty thousand rugged veterans, set out from Atlanta. He had an open field to his goal. "Behind us lay Atlanta," wrote Sherman in his "Memoirs," "smouldering in ruins, the black smoke rising high in air and hanging like a pall over the ruined city. Away off in the distance was the rear of Howard's column, the gun barrels glistening in the sun, the white-topped wagons stretch-

ing away to the South. . . . Some band by accident struck up the anthem of 'John Brown's soul goes marching on'; the men caught up the strain and never before nor since have I heard the chorus of 'Glory, glory, hallelujah,' done with more spirit or in better harmony of time and place. Even the common soldiers caught the inspiration and many a group called out to me, 'Uncle Billy, I guess Grant is waiting for us at Richmond.'"

SHERMAN'S MARCH FROM ATLANTA TO THE SEA

The soldiers would tear up the railroads, and sometimes heat the rails red-hot and bend them around the trunks of trees, to prevent the Confederates from rebuilding the road. Sherman wished no more provisions or reënforcements to be carried to the Confederate armies.

The army had to forage on the country. Foraging parties would bring in loads of supplies, — bacon, corn-meal, turkeys, chickens, ducks, and everything that could be used for food or fodder. All railroads were destroyed and a strip of country sixty miles wide was laid bare. For days no news came from Sherman to the outside world. On December 12th his army reached Savannah, and on the 24th the city surrendered. Sher-

man sent a message to President Lincoln presenting Savannah as "a Christmas gift, with one hundred and fifty guns, plenty of ammunition, and about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton." After resting a month at Savannah, Sherman marched north through South Carolina, forcing the Confederates to evacuate Charleston. Sherman thought this march much more important than the one to Savannah. He met and defeated his old foe, General Joseph E. Johnston in command of a new army, in the battle of Bentonville (North Carolina, March 19, 1865) and then passed on to Raleigh, where he awaited news from Grant.

ADMIRAL FARRAGUT LASHED TO THE RIGGING IN THE BATTLE OF MOBILE BAY

David G. Farragut was one of the most noted of American Naval commanders in the Civil War. Born in Tennessee in 1801, died in 1870. He entered the navy at nine years of age and served as a midshipman in the war of 1812. His home was in Virginia when that state seceded. He denounced the act, abandoned his state, left his home and property, vowing that he would live and die owing allegiance to no flag but that of the Union under which he had served so long.

Naval Operations: Farragut in Mobile Bay. While the armies of Grant and Sherman were advancing on land, the navy continued its important work of closing southern ports. In August, 1864, Admiral Farragut entered Mobile Bay, running past the forts in the harbor as he had done at New Orleans. Lashed to the rigging above the smoke of battle, Farragut gave his signals. The Admiral was informed that the Confederates had planted torpedoes in the bay. "Never mind the torpedoes, go ahead,"

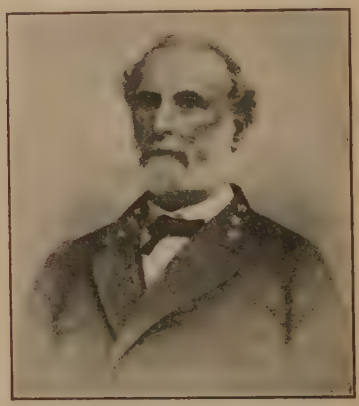
signaled Farragut. One of his ships was sunk by a torpedo, but eighteen vessels got through, silenced the fort, captured the city, and closed the port of Mobile. In January, 1865, Wilmington, North Carolina, surrendered, and when Sherman marched into South Carolina, Charleston, the last Confederate port on the Atlantic, fell into Union hands. The blockade was now complete, and the Confederacy was almost exhausted.

Confederate Privateers: the Alabama. The Confederates had no navy to blockade northern ports, but they secured some armed cruisers to destroy northern merchant vessels at sea. These "commerce destroyers" burned all the merchant ships they could find, and thousands of dollars' worth of property was lost by northern merchants. The *Alabama*, commanded by Captain Semmes, was the most famous of these Confederate cruisers. The *Alabama* was built in England and our minister there, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, complained to the British government for allowing this. It was known that the vessel was to be used for hostile purposes against the United States, and Great Britain should have prevented her ports from being used for such purposes. Afterwards Great Britain, by the Geneva arbitration award, was compelled to pay the United States $15,000,000 for damages inflicted by the *Alabama*. For two years the *Alabama* cruised in different parts of the world, while United States warships tried to catch her. At last she was found by the *Kearsarge* in the harbor of Cherbourg, France. Captain Semmes challenged Captain Winslow of the *Kearsarge* to fight. The challenge was accepted and after a short engagement the *Alabama* was sunk in the English Channel (June 19, 1864).

Lee Surrenders to Grant at Appomattox. When the year 1865 opened Lee was still defending Richmond against Grant. Lee could hope for no reënforcements and his supplies were running low. The blockade and the wasting destruction of the Union armies were bringing starvation to the Confederates. Grant pressed Lee's lines back step by step. Lee had to strengthen his lines to meet the superior force in front of him, and finally his

line of defense became so thin, — one man to every seven yards, — it could no longer withstand the assault. "The line has been stretched until it has broken," as Lee said. The Confederates had to leave Richmond, which was occupied by the Union forces (April 2, 1865). Lee's plan was to retreat southward and unite with Johnston, but his weary men were without food and the

Ulysses S. Grant



Robert E. Lee

Two of the great soldiers of the Civil War. Ulysses S. Grant, the Union commander, was born in Ohio in 1822, died in New York City in 1885. Robert E. Lee, the Confederate leader, was born in Virginia in 1807, died in 1870. Both soldiers were graduated from West Point. Lee served in the Mexican War, and, though opposed to secession, in 1861 he obeyed the voice of his state, resigned his command in the U. S. army and offered his services to the South. At the surrender Grant offered Lee most generous terms. Lee's sword was returned to him and his men were allowed to keep their horses for the "spring plowing," which Lee thought would have "a happy effect." Rations for Lee's hungry army were then ordered by Grant. The officers and men were released on parole and allowed to return to their homes.

Union forces were in close pursuit. Lee's grand army of Northern Virginia was now reduced to twenty-eight thousand men. It was hemmed in by the Union forces at Appomattox Court House, where on April 9, 1865, Lee surrendered his army to General Grant. Grant, brave and successful in war, was most generous in peace. He offered liberal terms. Lee's officers were to retain their horses and side-arms, and they and their men

were not to be taken to prison or punished in any way, but were to be allowed to go to their homes on parole, on condition that they were not to fight any more against the United States. On April 26th Johnston's army surrendered to Sherman on the same terms.

The Confederate soldiers had done all that brave men could for their cause, and in their final defeat, as in their many well-earned victories, their courage and devotion commanded the respect and honor of their countrymen and of all the world. Lee bade his soldiers good-by. "We have fought through the war together, and I have done the best I could for you," he said with tears in his eyes. Lee advised his men to return to their homes, and to help restore the Union, — saying that the long dispute between the states and the general government had been decided by war, and that it was the part of wisdom to accept the result. He himself set a fine example of good citizenship. He became president of Washington and Lee University at Lexington, Virginia, where he died in 1870. In soldiers' reunions, both of the "Blue" and the "Gray," Grant and Lee are honored to-day as the two greatest military leaders of the Civil War.

Assassination of Lincoln. There was great joy in the North over Lee's surrender. There were bonfires and jubilees in every city and town. The people were tired of bloodshed and war and they were heartily glad that the strife was over and peace had come. But in the midst of this joy came news that threw every one into the deepest gloom and sorrow. It was the news that President Lincoln had been assassinated. On the evening of April 14, 1865, the President went to the theater for rest and recreation. John Wilkes Booth, a half-crazy actor who thought that Lincoln had wronged the South, gained access to the President's box in the theater and shot him in the head. The assassin leaped to the stage shouting, "Sic semper tyrannis" (Thus always to tyrants), and escaped by the stage door. Booth's spur caught in the folds of the American flag as he leaped to the

STATUE OF LINCOLN, IN LINCOLN PARK, CHICAGO

stage, which caused him to fall and break his leg. But he fled on. He was pursued and finally shot while resisting capture. On the same night an attempt was made on the life of Secretary Seward and he was severely wounded. This seemed like a conspiracy to break up the government, and many people of the North felt that southern leaders were responsible for it; and, although this was not the case, the result was a bitter and revengeful feeling in the North.

Lincoln lingered until Saturday morning, April 15th. When he died one of the greatest and best of rulers passed away. He was buried in Springfield, Illinois, and vast throngs of sorrowing people viewed the body of their fallen leader as it was carried from city to city to its last resting-place. The southern people soon came to know that Lincoln would have been their best friend, for his noble spirit is well expressed in his second inaugural address: "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan — to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Cost of the War. It would be impossible to estimate the cost of the war in dollars and cents. For a time it cost the Union side *three million dollars a day*, and the national debt rose to 2800 *millions* of dollars. But this was only a small part of the money cost. All that was invested in the Confederacy was lost. The railroads, factories, farms, and homes of the South were largely destroyed. But the greatest cost was in the sacrifice of life and health. Fully seven hundred thousand men lost their lives from battle or disease, — a loss to the homes of the land that could never be replaced.[1]

[1] The lives lost on the Union side were, in round numbers, as follows: killed in battle, 67,000; died of wounds, 43,000; died of disease, 224,000; died in prison, 30,000. The losses on the southern side were somewhat less.

"Cost of the War"

Graves of the Soldier dead, City Point, Va.

There are several national cemeteries where soldiers of the Civil War lie buried, representing the best blood of the nation. One mother gave five sons who died for their country. The following letter from President Lincoln to the mother of these boys illustrates the terrible suffering and sacrifice of the Civil War and at the same time gives an insight into the tender and noble character of the martyred President.

Mrs. Bixby, Boston. November 21, 1864.

Dear Madam:

I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Yours very sincerely and respectfully,

Abraham Lincoln.

Results of the War. What were the results of all the suffering and sacrifice of the war? They may be summed up as follows:

1. The Union was preserved. It was decided that the states were united into one nation, not a mere league of states.

2. The right of secession may no longer be claimed. The Civil War settled that the national view of secession, not the state rights view, shall prevail. Ours was to be an "indivisible union of indestructible states."

3. Slavery was forever destroyed. Lincoln's great Proclamation settled this when the Union forces prevailed. The Thirteenth Amendment, also, came out of the war. This was passed by Congress in January, 1865. It was submitted to the states and ratified by three fourths of them, and on December 18, 1865, it was proclaimed as a part of the Constitution. It provided that slavery should no longer exist in the United States and its passage was hailed as "an immortal and sublime event." Thus the subject of many years of dispute was forever removed.

4. Citizenship for the negro came out of the war. Before the Union was finally restored and as a direct result of the war American citizenship was bestowed upon every one born or naturalized in the United States, regardless of race, color, or religion. This was written in the fundamental law of the land. (See the Fourteenth Amendment.)

5. The war showed the strength of republican institutions. It had been doubted whether the United States government had power to preserve itself. The Civil War proved it to be one of the strongest governments on earth, where self-governing citizens would fly to the standard of the law to preserve order and protect their country. The southern people, too, loved their country and believed in law and order, but they took a different view of the loyalty and allegiance by which their citizens were bound. All are united now under one law and one allegiance.

At the close of the war the nation had fully a million men in arms. Within a year these volunteer soldiers were engaged in the peaceful pursuits of life. A great review of the veterans was

held in Washington in May, 1865. But the patriotism of war was to give place to the patriotism of peace. The people, especially in the South, had tasted war's cruel dregs and they prayed that the nation might forever after be spared the desolating curse of war. Let us hope that we shall never forget the lessons that war should teach,—respect for law, reverence for human life, regard for the rights of our fellowmen, love of peace, and hatred of the desolation and cruelties of war. General Grant said he wished never to see another uniform in battle, and in his noble and quiet way he voiced the deep feeling of the people when he said, "Let us have peace."

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Locate on the map the scenes of the principal battles of the war.
2. Why did people in the North oppose Lincoln's conduct of the war?
3. March with Sherman from Atlanta to the sea. Give some interesting features of the march.
4. Imagine yourself a spectator when Sheridan came back from Winchester. Tell what you heard and what you saw.
5. Why was Lincoln's death a great loss to the South?
6. What can you say of the cost of the war? Recite Lincoln's second inaugural address, and tell what you think may be done to "cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."
7. State the notable results of the war.

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3. Gen. W. T. Sherman, "Memoirs," Vol. II, 108–128 (The Capture of Atlanta); 174–198 (March to the Sea); 376–378 (Grand Review at Washington).
4. J. K. Hosmer, "Outcome of the Civil War" (American Nation Series) 86–105 (On to Richmond); 290–306 (Downfall of the Confederacy).
5. Chas. W. Moores, "The Life of Lincoln for Boys and Girls."
6. Read Markham's poem, "The Commoner"; Ida M. Tarbell's "He Knew Lincoln"; and Louisa M. Alcott's "Hospital Sketches."

CHAPTER XXIX

SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS, 1829–1865

Area, Population, and Wealth. During the thirty years following 1830 the population of the country had increased, in round numbers, from 12,800,000 to 31,400,000. In this period fully 960,000 square miles of territory had been added to the country's area, the increase being considerably more than the original area in 1783. The increase in population in the single decade from 1850 to 1860 was 1,000,000 more than the whole population in 1810, and nearly as great as the whole population in 1820. The country was doubling its population every twenty-five years and the increase in each decade was about thirty-five per cent.

The parts of the country showing the most remarkable increase were the free states of the Northwest. Illinois furnished the most wonderful example. Between 1830 and 1840 Indiana doubled its population while that of Illinois was almost quadrupled, and between 1840 and 1860 Illinois again quadrupled its population. People were coming to the Northwest from New York, New England, and foreign countries. They also came from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and the Carolinas, partly to find cheap lands and partly to escape the evils of slavery. The people who came received cheap lands from the national government. They became less local and more national in their loyalty, an important fact in the Civil War. From 1830 to 1860 the wealth of the country had been trebled; far the greater part of the increased wealth, like the increase in population, being in the free states of the North. While the population was doubling in the Northwest the slave states were increasing only from five to twenty per cent. America was growing rich and populous, and this

period may be called the "golden age" of development and prosperity.

Immigration. A large part of the increase in population came from immigration. In 1860 there were between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 foreign-born persons in the United States. The greater part of these had come since 1840. They were mostly Irish and German, but there were also many English, French, Welsh, Scotch, and Dutch. Famine in Ireland, especially the potato famine in 1846, drove 1,700,000 Irish people to our shores. Hard times and political disturbances in Germany sent 1,300,000 Germans. Many of these poor immigrants settled in the eastern cities, while many of them went to the Northwest where government lands could be obtained at a low price. Very few of the immigrants went to the South, where the heavy labor was chiefly the work of slaves. They found employment either on the farms, or in the mines, foundries, and factories of the North, or in railroad building, which was so extensively carried on in this period.[1] The immigrants came to America to find a land of larger opportunity, where they could have a better chance to make a living, to educate their children and to enjoy the blessings of free institutions. The Germans and Irish readily became naturalized American citizens, and they and their children, together with other foreign-born citizens, have greatly contributed toward the growth and prosperity of America.

Canals and Inland Navigation. After 1830 canal building and the making of turnpike roads were carried on with great activity. Commerce through the Great Lakes increased at a marvelous rate. The days of the fur-trader and the open boat were passing away. Now wheat and lumber in great quantities were taken from the pioneer settlements to the eastern markets in scores of big schooners. In 1833 the Canadian government built the Wel-

[1] It was not until 1842 that so many as 100,000 immigrants came to America in a single year. In 1854 the number rose to 427,000. It has reached as high as 1,166,353 in 1906. Immigration increases during years of industrial prosperity in America or during hard times in Europe, and falls off when times are hard in America.

land Canal and in 1855 the United States built the locks at Sault Ste. Marie. "The old fur-trader's route between Green Bay and Prairie du Chien was made practicable for lake vessels by a canal across the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers." By this means a boat loaded at Buffalo might reach St. Paul or New

THE OLD METHOD — BOONE'S FERRY

THE NEW METHOD — BRIDGE OVER THE SUSQUEHANNA AT PITTSTON, PA.

Orleans without shifting the cargo.[1] The Wabash and Erie Canal was projected to connect Lake Erie with the Ohio and the Mississippi. These public enterprises received a severe check by the panic of 1837, and many western states found it very hard to pay the debts they had contracted for building roads and canals.

[1] Coman's "Industrial History of the United States," p. 234.

Railroad Building: New Form of Transportation. In 1830 there was not a mile of steam railroad in the United States, though there were a few miles of track on which cars were drawn by horse-power. Railroad building began in America in 1831. In that year Peter Cooper's engine, "Tom Thumb," made the trial trip over thirteen miles of track between Baltimore and Ellicott's Mills in one hour. In the fall of the same year several trips were made on a South Carolina road between Charleston and Hamburg. In the Mohawk Valley the "DeWitt Clinton" made seventeen miles an hour, from Albany to Schenectady. When this line was

"THE BEST FRIEND," THE FIRST LOCOMOTIVE BUILT IN THE UNITED STATES FOR ACTUAL SERVICE ON A RAILROAD

This locomotive was doing actual service on the South Carolina Railroad, chiefly in constructing the road, in the latter part of 1830. The picture represents a trip which was made on the first anniversary of the commencement of the road. It was a gala day. According to the *Charleston Courier* of January 17, 1831, "A band of music enlivened the scene, and great hilarity and good humor prevailed throughout the day."

opened the legislators at Albany were taken to Schenectady and given a big dinner. One toast proposed was, "The Buffalo Railroad: May we soon breakfast in Utica, dine in Rochester, and sup with our friends on Lake Erie." They were dreaming of going from Albany to Buffalo in a day! At that time the swiftest packet boats required three or four days for the journey.

Early railroad building was for the purpose of helping out transportation on the canals, rivers, and Great Lakes. The Baltimore and Ohio railway was the first line to cross the Alleghenies. It was pushed from Baltimore to Cumberland, Maryland, in 1835, but did not cross the Alleghenies to connect with the Ohio until

1851. Freight traffic followed the water-routes, and by 1850 short railroad lines were built inland from the principal cities on rivers and lakes, as from Sandusky, Toledo, and Detroit. Chicago had only one short line by 1851, built to connect with one from Detroit. The railroad routes from east to west were entirely over these short and independent lines, and the travelers had to take the risk of missing connections, and often they had to wait weary hours or a whole day at the end of a line. There were several such independent lines between Albany and Buffalo and others between Philadelphia and Pittsburg.[1]

PIONEER
FAST LINE,
BY RAIL ROAD CARS AND CANAL PACKETS,
From Philadelphia to Pittsburgh,
THROUGH IN 3½ DAYS:
AND BY STEAM BOATS, CARRYING THE UNITED STATES MAIL,
From PITTSBURGH to LOUISVILLE.
Starts every morning, from the corner of Broad & Race St.

AN ADVERTISEMENT OF 1837

Note that it took three and a half days to go from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, which is now done in less than nine hours.

By 1849, nearly twenty years after railroad building began, there were but six thousand miles of railroad in the United States. Then an era of extension began and by 1860 we had more than thirty thousand miles of railway, and the states from east to west were covered by a network of roads. In 1861 the railway service became a unit for the first time by connecting the independent lines into trunk systems. These railway systems became an important factor in preserving the Union. The North could concentrate its forces and supply them with food. There was no through system under one management from the Atlantic to the Mississippi until 1869, and this was accomplished by Cornelius

[1] In 1851 Emerson wrote from Pittsburg: "I arrived here last night after a very tedious and disagreeable journey from Philadelphia, two nights being spent in the rail-cars and the third on the floor of a canal boat."

Vanderbilt, America's first "Railway King." Congress made provision for building a line to the Pacific in 1862, giving large quantities of public lands to a company for that purpose.

The journey from New York to Chicago that can now be made in eighteen hours on the fastest trains then required fifty. Passengers had to change at *seven* different places, buying new tickets and waiting several hours between trains. The shipping of freight was still more difficult. There were no consignments through to Chicago. A man had to go with the goods, or there had to be a half dozen private agents along the line to see to transfers. At the end of each line freight had to be taken from the car, hauled across the city to the station of the next line, and loaded aboard again.[1]

The Electric Telegraph, 1844. Following the railroad came the telegraph. This epoch-making invention was due chiefly to the genius and efforts of Samuel F. B. Morse, who, after years of struggle, finally induced Congress to vote thirty thousand dollars for an experimental line from Washington to Baltimore. "What hath God wrought!" was the first message Morse sent over the line, and two days later the news of Polk's nomination to the presidency was telegraphed (May, 1844). Soon a network of lines connected the large cities of the country and by 1860 there were fifty thousand miles of telegraph lines within the United States, and in 1861 a line was built to San Francisco.

Newspapers and Postage Rates. One notable result of the railroad and the telegraph was the easier spread of intelligence. News could be gathered and sent quickly. Newspapers increased their circulation and large daily journals were established. Hor-

[1] A regular "war" was caused in Erie, Pa., when the railway company proposed to change the gauge — the distance between the rails — so that trains could run without change between Buffalo and Cleveland. The Erie eating-houses and transfer companies would be ruined, it was said, unless passengers and freight were delayed several hours and made to change cars before the Erie pie-shops. The city refused to allow the change to be made and mobs tore up the tracks and plowed up the grades. This was called the "Erie War." It took many weeks to overcome this opposition to through lines.

ace Greeley founded the New York *Tribune* in 1841 and Henry J. Raymond the New York *Times* in 1851, and William Cullen Bryant as editor gave great influence to the New York *Evening Post*. The New York *Sun* (the first one-cent paper) and other great city newspapers were established in this period. Improvements were made in the manufacture of paper and in the printing press, the Hoe cylinder press being operated for the first time in 1847. Postage rates had been high, six cents on a letter if it went thirty miles and twenty-five cents if it were sent over four hundred miles, the receiver of the letter always paying for it. Now postage stamps were introduced (about 1840) and in 1850 the rate on a prepaid letter was reduced to three cents for any distance under three thousand miles. By correspondence, newspapers, and magazines, the people became better informed about their government and their party leaders, and they could travel long distances to attend party conventions. Business relations between different parts of the country became closer, travel increased, and people moved West in great numbers "to grow up with the country." These agencies had great influence in promoting union between east and west. Travel and migration did not move southward to so great an extent.

Schools and Education. The first half of the nineteenth century was a time of discontent and revolution in Europe. People wanted to try new governments. Also new systems of education, new sciences, and new doctrines in religion were taught. The spirit of humanity grew and people were more ready to help the poor, the weak, and the oppressed. In the thirties a new movement for public education arose. Horace Mann, a noted educator, established in 1837 one of the first school journals in America and he tried to stir up the people to improve their schoolhouses, text-books, and teachers. Under Mann's leadership the first normal school for the training of teachers was established in 1839. The state universities arose in the Northwest and many church colleges were founded. Later the states began to make provision for academies and common schools; and illit-

eracy, which had been very common among the masses of the people, began to disappear. Everywhere there was a spirit of inquiry and a readiness to change from former ways of living and thinking.

The "Golden Age of American Literature." By 1832 America had a literature which in the next thirty years was to include names of great distinction. A group of writers, sometimes called the "Concord School," were greatly influenced by the new ideas in education and by the new spirit of humanity. Emerson, one of the greatest of them, lived a retired life at Concord, but often went to Boston and other cities to lecture. Lyceums, or courses of lectures, were a common means of popular instruction.[1] Emerson's lectures were afterwards printed as Essays. In 1836 his first book, "Nature," was published, and in 1837 his address on the "American Scholar." Thoreau was a "poet-naturalist." In 1845 he built a cabin on Walden Pond near Concord and lived there by himself. He was the first of a long line of American writers on the out-door life. On Concord River the house is still standing which Nathaniel Hawthorne described in "Mosses from an Old Manse," published in 1846. Hawthorne's later romances, among them the "Scarlet Letter," and "The House of the Seven Gables," preserve for us many traditions of the life of the Puritans in New England. Bronson Alcott was one who tried the new ideas in education. He was himself a teacher, and among other experiments he advanced the theory that when the pupils did wrong they should flog the teacher. He also tried to admit colored children into his classes, but his patrons would not allow it.

Poetry. The poetry of America may be said to have begun with Longfellow's "Voices of the Night," in 1839, although Bryant's "Thanatopsis" (1813) and some less important poems had already appeared. In 1842 Longfellow published a small

[1] John B. Gough, the noted temperance advocate, Wendell Phillips, the great anti-slavery orator, and Henry Ward Beecher, a celebrated clergyman, and many others, spoke to the people on moral questions in all parts of the country in these Lyceum courses. The Chautauquas of the present day have taken their place

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE
1804–1864

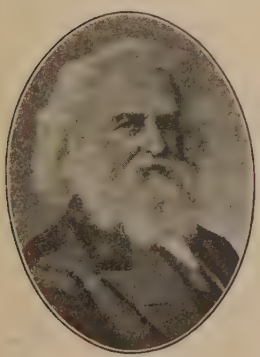
JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL
1819–1891

RALPH WALDO EMERSON
1803–1882

EDGAR ALLAN POE
1809–1849

WASHINGTON IRVING
1783–1859

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT
1794–1878



HENRY WADSWORTH
LONGFELLOW
1807–1882

OLIVER WENDELL
HOLMES
1809–1894

JOHN GREENLEAF
WHITTIER
1807–1892

GROUP OF AMERICAN WRITERS

volume of "Poems on Slavery." His narrative poems "Evangeline" and "Hiawatha" were written later, in 1847 and 1855. In the latter year he was succeeded by Lowell as professor of modern languages in Harvard College. Lowell had gained great popularity some years before (1846) by his "Biglow Papers," which were satires in "down-east" dialect upon the government and the Mexican War party. As poet, critic, editor, statesman, and diplomat, no American name stands higher than that of James Russell Lowell. Whittier was the poet of the anti-slavery movement. His three collections of patriotic poems cover almost the entire period of agitation and war. He is, however, not to be remembered for these alone, but also for enriching our literature with many ballads and idylls of New England life. From 1830 Holmes was conspicuous among men of letters. In 1857 the *Atlantic Monthly* was founded, in the first number of which Holmes's "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table" was begun.

While the center of learning and of literature was at this time in New England, other sections of the United States had men who expressed the life and thought of the people in both verse and prose. The South was represented in literature chiefly by Edgar Allan Poe. He was editor of magazines in Richmond, Virginia, and in Philadelphia. By 1831 Poe had published several collections of verse. He has been called the inventor of the detective story. The Pacific coast and the life of the "Forty-niners" were portrayed by Bret Harte, who went from New York to California in 1852.

The Sewing Machine. Many notable inventions were made or improved during this period. The sewing machine was first brought into practical use by Elias Howe in 1846. Other inventors, Wilson, Wheeler, and Singer, improved the machine, and Singer allowed payments by instalments, which brought the machine within the reach of the poor. In the decade before the Civil War a machine was invented that could carry a needle through leather; then a skilled workman could sew the soles on nine hundred pairs of shoes in a day. Ready-made

clothing and the making of boots and shoes were transferred from the hand to be made in wholesale quantities in the factory. Thus the clothing of the people was made easier and cheaper. With the factory system came the labor problem, and the struggles and strikes for better wages.

Agriculture and Machinery: the Reaper and the Thresher. Food products were also greatly increased in quantity and made cheaper by machinery. Two inventions that changed the whole life of the farm were the *reaper* and the *thresher*. Before 1830 farm implements were of the rudest kind. Spades, mattocks, pitchforks, hoes, plows, and sickles were still made at some blacksmith's forge. The first patent for a mowing machine was granted to William Manning in 1831, and for a reaping machine to Obed Hussey in 1833. One of Hussey's machines with a team of horses could cut grain as fast as eight persons could bind it, or it could cut as fast as twenty men swinging cradles. In 1834 a patent was issued to Cyrus H. McCormick for an improved reaping machine for cutting all kinds of grain. Only three machines were made in 1840 and they did not come into common use until after 1850. The great *World's Fair* in London in 1851 gave a strong impulse to the use of agricultural machines, and in 1860 twenty thousand reapers were manufactured. How could the immense crops of the great prairie farms of the West be harvested by the use of the old-fashioned sickle and scythe?

THE FIRST MCCORMICK REAPER
Notice that the grain is being raked off by hand.

In 1831 the first two patents were issued for horse-power threshing machines. Separators were added which separated the

grain from the straw, and in 1860 steam threshers were introduced, though horse-power continued to be used. At the Paris Exposition in 1855 the American thresher was tested and one machine threshed *seventy-two times* as much wheat in a half an hour as one man with a flail. The corn-planter, the revolving hay-rake, and improved plows also came into use during this period. Improvement in live stock and dairying kept pace with increased production in corn, wheat, and hay. These machines worked a new era in agriculture. They multiplied our produce, greatly increased our foreign commerce, added to the wealth and comfort of the people, and made the Northwest "the granary of the world."

Picking Cotton in Georgia

The Plantation System. The chief products of the South, besides cotton, were tobacco, rice, hemp, and sugar. Nine tenths of the cotton was raised by slave labor on large plantations of from 250 to 10,000 acres. Old men, women, and children could work at picking cotton, and large gangs of slaves were worked under the eye of an overseer. Slave labor was cheap. In 1840 a good field hand could be bought for $500; in 1860 field hands were costing from $1,200 to $2,000 apiece. The price had become high, but it cost very little to keep a slave. An able-bodied slave could be fed and clothed for $30 a year. His clothing was scant, and his food consisted chiefly of corn-meal, molasses, and bacon. But the cotton crops from year to year exhausted the soil and very little was done to fertilize it. The owner sought new and more

fertile lands. It was this need for more land for cotton growing that led to the demand for more slave territory, and this helped to bring on the war.

Scientific Farming: Agricultural Colleges. The exhausted soils and abandoned lands to which we have referred called attention to the need of fertilizers to enrich the soil. Farming needed more science and more sense. Fertilizing materials were imported. Bones, shells, and phosphate rocks were made into plant-food, and sixty thousand tons of manures were being imported annually by 1860.[1] In 1862 a Bureau of Agriculture was founded and in the same year provision was made for supporting agricultural colleges by proceeds from public lands. This has led to agricultural experiment stations and model farms in every state in the Union. Considered from the standpoint of material progress the Act of 1862 establishing these colleges was one of the most important events of our history. It began a movement that has resulted in scientific farming. Unproductive lands have been brought into use; varieties of corn, wheat, clover, vegetables, and other products have been introduced; lands have been enriched, stock improved, and expert information has been sent abroad that has enabled the farmers greatly to add to the wealth and prosperity of the country.

The Homestead Policy. The free Homestead Act of 1862 was one of the most important in our history. It provided that any citizen, or one who intended to become a citizen, might enter upon eighty acres or one hundred and sixty acres of the public land at $1.25 an acre, and after actual residence of five years he might become the owner of the land. If he wished to move or sell before five years he would have to pay more for his land to complete his title, or "prove his claim." This policy opened to settlement millions of acres of the public lands which otherwise would have remained a wilderness for many years. It attracted

[1] A story is told of a chemist in Charleston, S. C., in 1860, who, when he was shown the Ordinance of Secession and was asked what he thought of it, replied, "That is not what South Carolina needs; she needs manure."

immigrants from other countries and from the old states to the West, and it helped many honest men to find good homes.

Three Important Discoveries. Along with the great inventions that we have noticed came three important discoveries that have proved of great benefit to mankind.

Vulcanized Rubber. In 1844 Charles Goodyear discovered a process of vulcanizing India-rubber, — that is, making rubber harder, more durable, and elastic. This made possible all kinds of rubber goods, — boots, shoes, caps, coats, coverings for wagons and many other articles. It has added wonderfully to our comfort and convenience.

Photography. In 1839 a Frenchman by the name of Daguerre made known a process of taking pictures by means of exposing a prepared copper plate to the sunlight. This was the beginning of modern photography. These early pictures were called *daguerreotypes*. Soon improved methods were introduced and great progress was made in the art of photography.

Anæsthesia. Between 1842 and 1846 it was shown repeatedly that persons by inhaling ether or chloroform might be made insensible to pain and thus avoid suffering from surgery. The first operation with the use of an anæsthetic was reported by Dr. Crawford W. Long, of Georgia, in 1842, but the value of the process was more clearly shown by Dr. Morton, a dentist of Boston, in 1846. It has been the means of preventing untold suffering.

Boundaries and Occupations. By 1860 the boundaries of the United States reached from sea to sea and from the Lakes to the Gulf. The people were engaged in fishing, farming, commerce, manufacturing, grazing, and mining. There were coal and iron and oil in Pennsylvania; there were iron mines in upper Michigan; lead and zinc mines in Missouri; copper mines in the region of Lake Superior, and gold and silver in great quantities in the far West. Tropical fruits could be raised in Florida and California. The great farms of the Middle West were producing foodstuffs in their grain and live stock; herds of cattle were raised on the plains of Texas; Michigan and Wisconsin were rich

in lumber; while from the South were coming cotton, sugar, tobacco, hemp, and the products of the pine forests. The people were coming to realize that they had a wonderful country.

Physical and Economic Union. By the union of the states the nation had become great. The states were not uniform in interests and occupations, but the railroad, the telegraph, the cheap postage, the westward movement, territorial growth — these and other economic influences had made a political

UTE INDIANS TRAVELING

The Indians pushed farther west to make room for new white settlers.

union of the states more important than ever by 1861. In the Civil War the people decided that there should not be two republics, or more, between Canada and the Rio Grande, but that this great territory should continue to be ONE,—the home of *one* people under *one* name, *one* government, *one* flag. For that, as well as for the extinction of slavery, all Americans, North and South, are now devoutly thankful.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Show the growth of the United States from 1829 to 1860 in (*a*) area, (*b*) population. Tell why population increased so rapidly in the states of the Northwest.

2. Describe the character and extent of immigration during this period. How do you account for this?
3. Describe the growth in canal and railroad building.
4. Tell of the beginning of the electric telegraph and indicate its results.
5. Indicate the progress in education and describe the character of the literature of the period.
6. Name the principal discoveries and inventions of this period and indicate the results that followed from each.
7. Describe the plantation system and explain the progress made in scientific farming.
8. Explain the importance of the Homestead Act of 1862.
9. Describe the boundaries and resources of the United States in 1860 and show the importance of the issue involved in the Civil War.
10. State geographical and industrial reasons why slavery grew strong in the South while disappearing in the North.
11. Contrast some phase of life to-day with that of one hundred years ago: as to mode of travel, farming, conditions of home life, improved methods of manufacturing. In what have we gained? In what have we lost?
12. What has been the policy of the United States toward the immigrant? Why? What classes of immigrants are undesirable?
13. Name five things which have been favorable to the development of our country.
14. If you had a friend in some foreign land seeking a new home, what inducements offered by the United States would you present to him?
15. Name the most important benefits the railroads and telegraphs have rendered to the United States.
16. The people of America believe in free schools, free press, and religious liberty. What evidence have we of this?

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

1. J. F. Rhodes, "History of the United States," Vol. III; 14–27 (Causes of Prosperity; Railway Travel).
2. T. C. Smith, "Parties and Slavery," 59–74 (Era of Railroad Building).
3. Coman, "Industrial History of the United States."
4. Bogart, "Economic History of the United States."

In the last two books the pupil may find a fuller treatment of most of the topics discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER XXX

THE PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION, 1865-1877

The Problem of Reconstruction. The Union had been broken for a while by secession and war. Reconstruction was the process of restoring it, of fixing the conditions on which the southern states were again to be allowed to govern themselves and to be represented in Congress. In reconstruction several difficult questions arose:

1. What security should the southern states give for the future, to show that the results of the war would not be overturned?

2. What should be done with the Confederate leaders, those who had borne arms against the United States?

3. What should be done with the slaves made free by the war?

Andrew Johnson Becomes President. Upon the death of President Lincoln, the Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, became President. Johnson was a southern man who stood up bravely for the Union and against secession in Tennessee during the war. But he had been a Democrat and a states-rights man, and he thought the negro ought to have no voice in the government. The result was that the northern anti-slavery Republicans distrusted him. When Johnson became President he sought to carry out a plan of reconstruction that Lincoln had begun; but he was so lacking in tact and wisdom that he could not induce Congress to take up his plan or to follow his leadership. The consequence was that an unfortunate quarrel arose between the President and Congress which lasted throughout his whole term.

The Presidential Plan of Reconstruction. Johnson's plan was to set up new state governments in the South, requiring them to do three things: (1) Deny the right of secession. (2) Promise never

to pay any of the Confederate debt. (3) Abolish slavery and adopt the Thirteenth Amendment.

Johnson thought that when the white people of the South had reorganized their state governments on this basis, the results of the war would be secure and their senators and representatives ought to be allowed to take their seats in Congress. By December 1, 1865, all the seceded states had been reorganized on this plan, which is known as the "Presidential Plan." All that Congress had to do was to admit the southern members to their seats in Congress and reconstruction would be complete.

ANDREW JOHNSON'S TAILOR SHOP
The sign over the door reads, "A. Johnson, Tailor." Johnson was born in North Carolina in 1808 and apprenticed to a tailor when ten years of age. His fellow workmen taught him the alphabet and he later learned to read almost unaided. His wife taught him to write but he was never able to use the pen with ease until he had been in Congress. He was known as the "Mechanic Governor" of Tennessee, and served in the United States Senate after retiring from the Presidency.

Why Congress Refused to Accept the Presidential Plan. For several reasons Congress would not accept the President's plan. Northern leaders in Congress feared the negroes would not be properly cared for, and thought that the ex-Confederates were not sufficiently punished. They were afraid that the Confederate debt would be paid off, and they felt that the southern white people would have an unfair share of political power, since the slaves were free, and *all* were to be counted, instead of only three fifths, in allotting representatives to the states. Let us see what Congress did to carry out its policy.

The Freedmen's Bureau and the Civil Rights Bill. In the first place Congress passed two measures to help the negroes,—the Freedmen's Bureau Bill and the Civil Rights Bill. The first provided that officers of the United States government should

give clothing, food, and fuel to the destitute negroes and that some abandoned land should be divided among them, not more than forty acres to any one man. Now that the negroes, being without money or land or homes, were no longer cared for by their former masters, it seemed only right that they should be given some help and a fair start. While the intention of this law was good, the southern people said it had a bad effect. The ignorant negroes were led to believe that the government was going to support them and that they would not have to work. They stood about, idly waiting for their "forty acres and a mule," and many negroes who had been faithful, hard-working slaves were becoming good-for-nothing loafers. For this reason the southern people felt that there was need of vagrancy laws.

The Civil Rights Bill (March, 1866) gave citizenship, but not the right to vote, to the negro. This gave to the freedmen the right to hold property, make their contracts, and enforce their rights in the courts. The purpose of this was to give them the equal protection of law.

President Johnson vetoed these measures, but Congress passed them over his veto. The President spoke disrespectfully of members of Congress, and the congressional leaders, in turn, abused the President. Thus one department of the government was trying to do all it could to destroy the confidence of the people in the other part. It was very unfortunate when the difficult problem of reconstruction was to be solved, that the President and Congress could not act together.

The Congressional Plan of Reconstruction: the Fourteenth Amendment. The Congressional leaders felt that they must make secure the results of the war while they had the chance. For one thing they wished to deprive the white people of the South of what was thought to be an undue share of political power. Before the war southern representation in Congress was increased by counting three fifths of the slaves. Now that the slaves were free they would all be counted in the population for determining representatives, though only the white people

voted. Thus the southern whites would have more power in the national government than before. Northern Republican leaders determined to prevent this. They got up a plan of reconstruction involved in the Fourteenth Amendment. This amendment provided:

1. That citizenship should be conferred upon the negro, with equal protection of the laws. This put the principle of the Civil Rights bill into the Constitution so that a later Congress could not repeal it.

2. That the number of representatives in Congress from the various states should be in proportion to population, but that the negroes were not to be counted for this purpose unless they were allowed to vote.

3. The Fourteenth Amendment also provided that all leaders of the South who had ever taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and had afterwards "engaged in insurrection or rebellion" should be disqualified from holding office in state or nation.[1] This prevented the natural leaders of the South from being chosen to office. It was intended as a punishment for secession and was the result of the bitterness and anger of the time.

4. This important amendment also made it forever unlawful for the United States or any state to pay any debt incurred on behalf of the Confederate cause, and it guaranteed the payment of the national debt contracted in carrying on the war for the Union.

The South Rejects the Fourteenth Amendment. Such was the "Congressional Plan," as first proposed in 1866. These terms, in the shape of the Fourteenth Amendment, were submitted to the southern states in the summer of 1866 as a condition of readmission to the Union. All of them rejected the terms, except Tennessee, which was immediately readmitted. The other states thought the conditions "degrading," and they, badly

[1] Congress was given the power to remove all such disabilities, and this has long since been done.

advised by Johnson and certain northern Democrats, rejected the offered terms, hoping that the people of the North would elect a Congress which would adopt Johnson's plan.[1]

This made the election of a new Congress in 1866 of special interest. Would the people of the country sustain the President's plan, or the plan of Congress? It was an intense campaign. National conventions were held merely to influence public sentiment. A riot occurred in New Orleans in which many negroes were killed, and the Republicans said that was the way the freedmen would be treated under Johnson's reconstructed governments. President Johnson made a "swing around the circle," that is, a trip through the country, during which he made coarse speeches, exchanging insulting words with rowdies in the crowd. He injured his cause and disgraced his office. The election resulted in an overwhelming victory for Congress. More than two thirds in Congress were elected to oppose the President.

The Reconstruction Acts. The Congressional leaders were now triumphant. They were displeased because the South had rejected the Fourteenth Amendment and they were ready to impose still harder conditions upon the southern states. Instead of giving the South a year or two to reconsider the terms that had been rejected, and instead of waiting for hot tempers to cool off and bitter passions to be allayed, the Congressional leaders began on a new and harder plan of reconstruction.

Reconstruction Acts were passed (March, 1867) which overthrew the state governments that President Johnson had set up, and placed the South under military rule. New state conventions were to be held and new constitutions to be made for all the southern states. Negroes were to be allowed to vote and the ex-Confederates, the leading white people, were not to be permitted to vote. No white man could vote unless he could take the "iron-clad oath," saying that he had not borne arms against the United States. When the constitutions and the state governments made by these voters were approved by Congress, and when these

[1] The Fourteenth Amendment was not finally adopted until July, 1868.

newly-made southern states had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, the states could be readmitted and their senators and representatives could take their seats in Congress. Under these conditions all the seceding states (except Tennessee, already restored) were readmitted by 1870. Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens were two of the principal leaders in Congress who were responsible for these measures. Stevens was a forcible leader, a violent partisan who hated the "rebels," and wanted to punish them. He favored confiscating their property for the benefit of their former slaves. His theory was that the southern states were like conquered provinces without any rights under the Constitution.

Impeachment of President Johnson. In 1867 Congress passed the Tenure of Office Act, to prevent the President from removing Republican office-holders. This act required the President to give his reasons to the Senate if he wished to remove an officer, and if his reasons were not satisfactory, the officer should not be removed. Johnson sought to remove Mr. Stanton, his Secretary of War, in spite of the Tenure of Office Act. For opposing this law, and for his speeches against Congress, the House of Representatives decided to impeach the President for "high crimes and misdemeanors." He was tried before the Senate, Chief Justice Chase presiding. If the President were found guilty he would be removed from office and be incapable of holding any office thereafter. A two thirds vote was required to convict, and when the Senate voted the President escaped by only one vote.

General Grant Elected President, 1868. In 1868 General Grant was elected President on the Republican ticket. The Democrats nominated Governor Horatio Seymour, of New York. Nebraska was admitted in 1867, in time to take part in this election. All the states in the South, except Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas, had accepted the terms of reconstruction imposed by Congress, and their representatives in Congress had taken their seats and their electoral votes were counted in this election. The

Democrats denounced the reconstruction work of Congress as establishing "military despotism and negro supremacy at the South," and many of them said that what Congress had done ought to be overthrown as null and void. So reconstruction was the principal issue in the campaign.

The Fifteenth Amendment. After Grant was elected Congress proceeded to complete the work of reconstruction. The reconstructed state governments in the South that had been set up under military rule allowed the negroes to vote, and Congress wished that the states, if they ever came under white control, should never be permitted to deprive the negro of this privilege. Therefore the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted, which provided that no citizen should be deprived of his right to vote "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." This was ratified by three fourths of the states and became a part of the Constitution in 1870.[1]

Negro Rule in the South: Scalawags and Carpet-baggers. The reconstructed governments of Congress were like gall and wormwood to the better class of white people in the South. Ignorant negroes were elected to office and intelligent white people were kept out. Negroes were sent to Congress and sat in the seats once honored by the great statesmen of the South. The negroes were unfit to rule. The great majority of them could neither read nor write. They were just out of bondage and had no property; so high taxes made no difference to them. They were easily controlled by bad white men, and soon came under the influence of two classes, — "scalawags" and "carpet-baggers." The "scalawags" were mostly southern scamps, without character or property, who wished to be elected to office, and were ready to use the negro for their own gain. The "carpet-baggers" were northern men who had settled in the South after the war and who were so called, it was said, because all the property they had

[1] Before this the negroes could vote in some of the states by state laws, as they could in the reconstructed states of the South, but now they could vote in all the states.

was carried in carpet bags. These new rulers of the South — "carpet-baggers," "scalawags," and negroes — began to waste and steal the public money. They increased the taxes and piled up debts which the respectable white people were expected to pay. The corruption and extravagance were unbearable, and it seemed that these reconstruction times were darker for the South than the darkest days of the Civil War.

The Ku Klux Klan. It was a mistake to impose negro suffrage on the South before the negroes were ready for it, and to try to prevent the intelligent white people from governing. Men of intelligence and property will not submit to the rule of the ignorant very long. The consequence was that the southern white people began a determined effort to control the elections and secure the offices. A secret society was organized by the whites, called the "Ku Klux Klan" (K.K.K.), whose purpose was to scare the negroes and keep them from voting. The "Ku Klux" rode out at night dressed like ghosts in hideous caps and long white gowns. They met in "mysterious dens," and they came in dread silence to negro cabins in the dead of night claiming to be the ghostly spirits of dead Confederates that had come back to warn the negroes not to take part in politics. If the Ku Klux warnings were unheeded, the leading negroes and their white Republican friends were whipped or driven away, and, in some instances, were murdered and their homes were burned. Later, the whites, in some states, instead of "bulldozing," [1] used tissue ballots and stuffed the ballot boxes and carried the elections by fraud. So partly by violence and partly by fraud the southern whites by 1877 came into control of their state governments. Congress tried to prevent this violence and to protect the negro in his right to vote, by passing certain "Force Bills" (1870–71). The President was authorized to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* (page 197) and to send troops to the South. But there was a great deal of trouble in trying to enforce these laws. Ku

[1] This word originated in the practice of intimidating negroes during this period.

Klux raids were finally suppressed, but national troops were kept in the South to protect the negroes and guard the elections until 1877.

The Liberal Republicans: Election of 1872. Many Republicans of the North, however, were coming to feel that the southern white people had better be left to themselves, to take care of the negro and manage their own state governments. These "Liberal Republicans," as they were called, wished the reconstruction measures to stand, but they were ready to withdraw the troops from the South, and to pardon all who had taken part in the war and to allow them to hold office and take part in politics. They favored lowering the war tariff and they did not like the extensive use of the "spoils system," — *i.e.*, the use of public offices to reward party favorites. They wanted civil service reform. The Liberal Republicans hoped to defeat President Grant's reëlection. They nominated Horace Greeley, editor of the New York *Tribune*, for President, and he was also nominated by the Democrats. Many Democrats would not vote for Greeley, because all his life he had been denouncing and ridiculing the Democratic party. The regular Republicans renominated General Grant and he was chosen for a second term.[1]

Political Scandals. During Grant's second term much political corruption came to light. A "whisky-ring," — a combination of revenue officers and distillers — was cheating the government out of taxes on whisky and distilled spirits. Indian agents were cheating the Indians in furnishing them supplies. General Belknap, the Secretary of War, was guilty of taking bribes from an Indian agent who did not wish to give up his place. Belknap was impeached and escaped conviction only by resigning. The "Credit Mobilier," a company organized to carry out certain contracts in the building of the Pacific Railroad, gave some of its stock to members of Congress as a means of inducing them to

[1] In this campaign the Prohibition party appeared for the first time and it has nominated candidates at every Presidential election since. It has lived longer than any other third party in our history.

vote for certain measures the company wanted passed. President Grant was innocent of wrong-doing in these matters, but he was imposed upon by men who had gained his confidence. He said, "Let no guilty man escape." However, there was much dissatisfaction with his administration and a demand for reform arose.

Panic and Hard Times. The extravagance and waste of the public money came at a very bad time. In 1873 a terrible financial panic swept over the country and there were many business failures. Just after the war there was plenty of money, owing to the issue of bank-notes and greenbacks. The currency had been inflated: prices were high and times were good. Wheat sold for $3.00 a bushel and flour for $22.00 a barrel. Men began to buy land, and build factories and railroads, and they went into debt to pay for their enterprises. The spirit of speculation went too far. Prices began to fall. Wheat came to about one dollar a bushel and flour was $7.00 a barrel, and all other goods fell accordingly. The consequence was that many men could not sell their property for enough to pay their debts. Mortgages were foreclosed and men lost their homes; factories were closed, and men were thrown out of employment. Hard times came and many men became tramps and roamed through the country.

GRANT'S TOMB ON THE HUDSON RIVER, NEW YORK CITY

As a result of the dissatisfaction and the hard times the Democrats carried the congressional elections in 1874, in a "tidal

wave" that almost engulfed the Republicans, and the Democrats looked forward to the election of 1876 in hopes of turning the Republicans entirely out of power.

The Contested Election of 1876. In 1876 the Republicans nominated Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, for President. The Democrats nominated Governor Samuel J. Tilden, of New York. The Democrats demanded reform of all departments of the government and Governor Tilden had made a good record in this direction in his own state.

ALASKA

The United States purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867 for $7,200,000. It contains 570,000 square miles. Most people of that time thought that it consisted of rocks and icebergs and was of no value; but its fish and seals, and later its gold from the Klondike, have yielded many times the sum paid for the territory.

The election resulted in a close and disputed vote. Three of the southern states, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida, were still under the control of the "carpet-bag" governments and two sets of electoral votes were returned from these states. One of the Oregon votes was also disputed, making twenty disputed votes in all. Tilden had 184 votes beyond dispute, Hayes only 165. One more vote would have elected Tilden. In Congress the Senate was Republican, the House Democratic, and they could not agree which of the doubtful votes should be counted.

The result was the creation of the Electoral Commission to decide. This Commission consisted of five senators (three Republicans and two Democrats), five representatives (three Democrats and two Republicans), and five members of the Supreme Court, three of whom had been Republicans. The Commission was thus composed of eight Republicans and seven Democrats. Its decision on all the disputed returns was in favor of the Republican electors, and as the law creating the Commission provided that this could not be overturned except by joint agreement of the two houses it was accepted as deciding the result. The decision was announced only two days before the time for inaugurating the President, and on March 5, 1877, Hayes was peacefully inaugurated. The Democrats were greatly disappointed, but Mr. Tilden and his supporters patriotically accepted the result.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Of what did the problem of Reconstruction consist?
2. What was Johnson's plan of Reconstruction? Why rejected?
3. What did Congress do to protect the freedmen in the South?
4. How was the question of representation concerned in Reconstruction?
5. Give fully the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment.
6. State the provisions of the Reconstruction Acts of 1867. What kind of government came to the South under these measures? How and why was negro suffrage imposed on the South?
7. What do you think was the principal mistake in reconstruction? Why? Recite the Fifteenth Amendment. Is its principle a sound one?
8. Describe the process of impeaching the President, and tell how President Johnson came to be impeached.

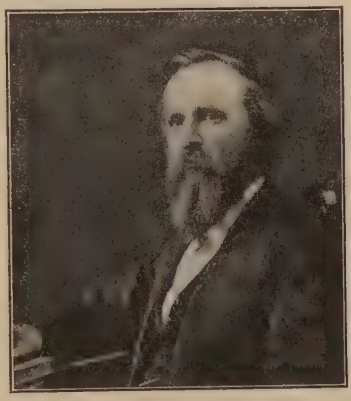
REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

1. J. F. Rhodes, "History of the United States," Vol. V, 516–529 (Character and Work of Congress); 551–562 (Conditions in the South).
2. S. W. McCall, "Life of Thaddeus Stevens," 256–284 (The Quarrel with Johnson).
3. Read Thomas Nelson Page's "Red Rock"; Albion W. Tourgee's "Fool's Errand" and "Bricks Without Straw." These novels tell of life in the South during Reconstruction times.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE UNITED NATION, 1877–1910

An Era of Peace and Good-will. The coming of President Hayes marks the beginning of a new era in the history of the United States. The Civil War was over, slavery was abolished, and the work of reconstruction was completed. The nation had emerged from the dark shadows of the Civil War. For about half a century slavery had been the all-absorbing topic. Now it was a dead issue and men turned their attention to the reform of the Civil Service, the revision of the tariff, the regulation of railways and other corporations, the improvement of election laws, the betterment of the financial system, and later to territorial expansion. Several of these important matters were very much in need of the attention of the law-makers. They had been sadly neglected during the slavery controversy. Now, however, the way was clear. The "southern question" was no more; it appeared for the last time in American politics in the election of 1876.



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

Mr. Hayes was born in Ohio in 1822. He was graduated from Kenyon College, practiced law, and later entered the Union Army. He was elected Governor of Ohio in 1867 and was twice reëlected. He died in 1893.

The New South. There was a new South as well as a new Nation. The abolition of slave labor had made it possible for

that section of the country to make advances in manufacturing, as well as in agriculture. Slave labor was very profitable on the plantation, but it was not skillful and intelligent enough for the factory. The slave could pick cotton or hoe tobacco, but he could not run a complicated machine. The free labor of the South has made great advances in manufacturing since the war. The "Old South" was almost exclusively agricultural, but the "New South" is dotted with factories and furnaces. Birmingham, Macon, Atlanta, Mobile, Savannah, and other southern cities have now become important manufacturing centers.

A New Set of Statesmen. A new set of statesmen also appeared. Many of the old leaders of the Civil War days had passed away, and new men appeared to handle the new issues. Webster, Clay, and Calhoun had fought their last battles in the United States Senate; John Quincy Adams had made his last stand for the right of petition, in the House; Lincoln and Seward had done their work as the saviors of the Union. The old issues and the old statesmen passed away together.

The New President, 1877-1881. President Hayes was just the man to take the lead in this new era of peace and good-will. He was not a particularly brilliant man, but he was pure, honest, and capable, and gave the country a very good administration. He was an Ohio man, a college graduate, and a lawyer, and had served in the Union army. He had also been governor of his native state before being elected to the presidency.

On account of the dispute over his election, Mr. Hayes came to the White House under rather unfavorable circumstances. Many persons still thought that Mr. Tilden was entitled to the office. The people, however, soon found President Hayes to be a man of good judgment in business affairs and of high moral purpose. His motto in politics was: "He serves his party best who serves his country best."

Conciliation. He was also broad-minded and conciliatory in his treatment of the South. His sympathy, fairness, and justness did much toward healing the wounds left by the Civil War.

One of the first acts of his administration was the recalling of the Federal troops from the southern states. In doing this, he said that he felt sure that there would be no further violence and that all future disputes in the South would be settled by peaceable methods.

He also appointed David M. Key, a member of the defeated party and a former Confederate soldier, to a place in his cabinet. These acts caused a very kindly feeling in the South toward the President and the national government.

The Cabinet. President Hayes also appointed a splendid cabinet. William M. Evarts, of New York, one of the most brilliant lawyers of his time, was made Secretary of State. John Sherman, of Ohio, a brother of William Tecumseh Sherman, who led the famous march from Atlanta to the sea, became Secretary of the Treasury. Carl Schurz was made Secretary of the Interior. Mr. Schurz was one of the best and most brilliant German-Americans of the nineteenth century. At the age of twenty he was compelled to flee from his native land on account of his political opinions. After wandering about in Switzerland, France, and England for a time, he came to the United States and fought in the Civil War on the Union side. After the war, he rounded out his useful career as a lawyer, lecturer, United States senator, cabinet member, and editor. He had ideas of his own, and was not afraid to express them. Mr. Schurz was one of the best and most useful men of his day.

Redemption of the Greenbacks. There was work enough to be done. The great financial question growing out of the Civil War yet remained to be settled.

In addition to the gold and silver money, the American government has issued several different kinds of paper money. One kind of paper money is the United States note, or greenback. This note is simply the government's promise to pay a certain number of dollars in coin whenever the bearer presents the note and demands such payment. During the war the government issued large amounts of these greenbacks and made them "legal

tender"; that is, a person was legally obliged to accept them if offered in payment of debt. The notes, however, could not at that time be exchanged for coin. On account of the great expense of the war, the government found it impossible to pay out gold and silver in return for its notes, or greenbacks; but it was the intention of the government to begin the exchange of gold and silver for greenbacks, or "to resume specie payment," as soon as possible.

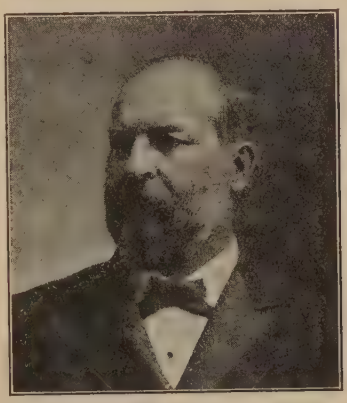
The war had been closed ten years before the government thought itself able to take this step. A law was finally passed providing that specie payments be resumed on January 1, 1879. John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, had much to do with making the preparations for the redeeming of the greenbacks. He gathered together a large amount of gold and silver in the Treasury, and was prepared to pay it out in return for United States notes; but when the time came there was almost no demand for the coin. When the people found that they could get gold and silver for their paper money, they were not anxious to do so. Their paper money would buy just as much as the coin, so that it was useless to make the exchange. Since 1879, our gold, silver, and paper moneys have been on an equality, and it is the intention of the government to keep them so.

The Election of 1880. In the following year the presidential election was held. The Republicans nominated James A. Garfield, of Ohio, and Chester A. Arthur, of New York. The Democrats chose Winfield Scott Hancock, of Pennsylvania, a brilliant soldier of the Civil War, as their standard-bearer. William H. English, of Indiana, occupied the second place on the ticket.

In their platform the Republicans declared themselves in favor of a protective tariff and a reform of the Civil Service. The Democrats opposed the protective tariff. Garfield and Arthur were elected.

Garfield and Arthur, 1881-1885. James A. Garfield was much beloved by the American people. He was born a poor boy in Ohio, and became a driver on a canal, and later a carpenter.

He was an officer in the Union army and served with distinction in the House of Representatives for a long time. He became noted as a lawyer, orator, and lawmaker, and would undoubtedly have made an excellent President if his life had been spared. It was not to be so, however. He had been in office only a short time when he was shot down (July 2, 1881) in a railway station at Washington by a disappointed and half-crazed office-seeker. He passed away on the 19th of September following, and his death was mourned by the whole civilized world.



JAMES A. GARFIELD

Mr. Garfield was born in Ohio in 1831. He was a driver on the Ohio Canal and later a carpenter. After graduating from Williams College he became a noted lawyer, soldier, and orator. He was a member of the House of Representatives from Ohio and was later elected President.

Chester A. Arthur then became President of the United States. Mr. Arthur was a successful New York lawyer, and a great friend of the colored man. He had also been a soldier in the Civil War.

Reform of the Civil Service. The assassination of President Garfield called attention very forcibly to the need of some better method of making appointments to office. At the beginning of every presidential administration, a horde of hungry office-seekers gathered at Washington, annoyed the new President, and consumed his time. In 1841 the life of President Harrison had been cut short by office-seekers, and forty years later the life of another President was taken by one of these men. There were also many political scandals which had been traced directly to the spoils system. These facts set the people to thinking, and in January, 1883, an Act for the reform of the Civil Service was passed by the united efforts of the Democrats and Republicans. Carl Schurz and George William Curtis did a splendid work for Civil Service reform.

This law provided that appointments to certain offices in the government should be made only upon competitive examination; that officers should not be removed for political reasons; and that assessments should not be levied upon office-holders to pay campaign expenses. The Act also provided for a Civil Service commission, to help the matter along.

President Arthur was very friendly to this Act and put it into effect at once. Under later presidents this "merit system," as it is called, was greatly extended. The first law applied only to a few classes of officers, but at the present time a vast majority of our public officials hold their positions because of *merit*, and not because of political influence. The new system is not perfect, but it is much better than the old, and no political party would now dare to take a stand against it.

GROVER CLEVELAND

Mr. Cleveland was born in New Jersey in 1837. He was a teacher for a time, then studied law, and later entered public life. After retiring from the presidency he lived in Princeton, N. J., and continued to write and speak on public questions. He died at Princeton in 1908.

The Election of 1884. President Arthur's short and uneventful administration soon came to an end. The Republicans nominated James G. Blaine, while the Democrats chose Grover Cleveland, of New York. The campaign was a stirring one. Mr. Cleveland was a self-made man of great force and of strong convictions, while Mr. Blaine was an excellent speaker and a man of great personal magnetism. Mr. Blaine made a tour of the country and aroused great enthusiasm wherever he went. The tariff was the principal issue of the campaign, and the Democrats were successful for the first time since the Civil War.

Cleveland's First Administration, 1885-1889. Mr. Cleveland had had quite a remarkable career before being elected to the

presidency. He was not a college graduate, but he had a good education. He became a school teacher and later a lawyer. He first became prominent as mayor of Buffalo, and was later elected governor of New York by a majority of nearly two hundred thousand. While President, he was a vigorous opponent of the protective tariff. After leaving the presidency he retired to a pleasant home at Princeton, New Jersey, and continued to write and speak on public questions.

Presidential Succession Law. Several important acts were passed during this administration. One of these was a law fixing the succession to the presidency. Up to this time the law provided that the Vice-president, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives should succeed to the presidency in the order named, in case the President should not be able to perform the duties of his office. It was now thought that this was not a good plan. Mr. Hendricks, of Indiana, who had been elected Vice-President at the last election, died in 1885. Now, in case of the death of President Cleveland, the presidency would have gone to John J. Ingalls, of Kansas, the President of the Senate. But Mr. Ingalls was a Republican, and it was not thought right that the presidential office should go to the Republicans when the people had voted to give it to the Democrats for four years; so a law was passed (1886) which provided that the members of the Cabinet should succeed to the presidency in the order of the establishment of their departments (page 187). This sensible measure was approved by both political parties, and is in force at the present time.

Interstate Commerce Commission, 1887. In the following year, Congress passed an important act for the regulation of railroads. Shippers had begun to complain about railway rates. The rates on the average were not too high, but they were not the same for everybody. The roads granted "discriminations"; that is, in many instances, an especially low freight rate was granted to certain shippers, or to certain cities. Manufacturers who had to pay the regular rates, had a hard time of it. Some of them were

driven out of business. To remedy these evils, Congress established the Interstate Commerce Commission. It was made the duty of the commission to determine what rates are "reasonable and just," and to seek to prevent discrimination. It has been partly successful in doing this.

The Australian Ballot. A year later (1888) an important change was introduced in the manner of voting. Up to this time the various political parties printed their own ballots, or tickets, and distributed them among the voters on the streets. The method was not a good one. It was easy to buy and sell votes under this plan, and there was no secrecy about voting. The states have now quite generally adopted the Australian ballot system. Under this plan the names of the candidates of all parties are printed on a state ballot, and these ballots are given out only by the election officers. The voter takes his ballot into a private booth and makes a cross within the party emblem, or opposite the name of the candidate for whom he wishes to vote. He then folds it and gives it to an election officer who places it in the ballot box. The Australian system has done much to purify elections. It discourages the purchasing of votes, because the purchaser cannot know whether he has received the vote or not.

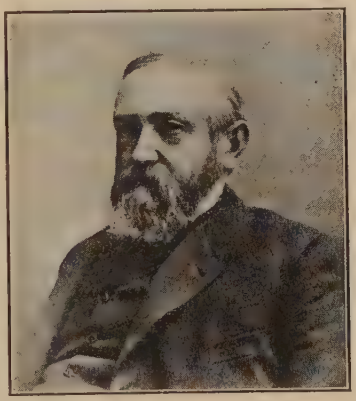
In many of the states machines are used for the accurate counting of votes.

The Election of 1888. Another presidential election came in 1888. President Cleveland was again nominated by the Democrats, while the Republicans chose Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana. The tariff was again the main issue. President Cleveland had devoted his entire message of December, 1887, to the tariff issue and had made a strong plea for a reduction of duties. Mr. Harrison championed the protective tariff and was elected by a good majority.

President Harrison, 1889-1893. The new President was a grandson of William Henry Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe. He was born in Ohio, but moved to Indiana when a young man. He enlisted in the army and fought on the Union side. After

the war, he became known as a United States senator, public speaker, and lawyer. In his later years he was considered one of the ablest constitutional lawyers in the United States.

The McKinley Tariff. President Harrison's administration was quiet and uneventful. The passage of a new tariff act was probably the most important event in the four years. The bill was framed under the leadership of William McKinley and became a law in October of 1890. From that time until his death Mr. McKinley was looked upon as the leading protective tariff advocate in the United States. The duties in this act were much higher than before, and averaged about forty-nine per cent. This means that it cost an importer forty-nine cents to bring a dollar's worth of dutiable goods into the United States.



BENJAMIN HARRISON

Mr. Harrison was born in Ohio in 1833. He was a soldier in the Civil War, a distinguished constitutional lawyer, an able orator, United States Senator and President. His published essays and addresses are well worth reading.

Other Tariff Measures. A word should also be said at this time about three later tariff acts.

When the Democrats returned to power, as they did under President Cleveland in 1893, they again revised the tariff. They passed the "Wilson Act" in 1894. This measure reduced the duties somewhat, but was not satisfactory to President Cleveland. He refused to sign it, but allowed it to become a law without his signature (page 184). In 1897 the Republicans came back into power under President McKinley. They took up the tariff at once and passed a new measure known as the "Dingley Act." This act marked a return to the high protective tariff of former years. In some cases it even increased the duties of the McKinley Act of 1890. The Payne Tariff Act was passed in 1909.

The Election of 1892. We must now return to the election of 1892. In this campaign Harrison and Cleveland were again the leading candidates and again the tariff was the main issue. Mr. Cleveland was elected by a considerable majority in the Electoral College.

Cleveland's Second Administration, 1893-1897. President Cleveland was scarcely seated in the presidential chair when a great panic set in. Banks failed, factories shut down, and "hard times" prevailed generally. The monetary system of the country appeared to be out of order, and President Cleveland called a session of Congress to set it right. Not much was done, however, and the money question became the main issue in the election of 1896.

Venezuela and the Monroe Doctrine. In 1895 the attention of the President was attracted by a boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela. It seemed to him that Great Britain was claiming territory that rightfully belonged to Venezuela, and he accordingly objected under the authority of the Monroe Doctrine (page 245). For a time war was talked of between Great Britain and the United States, but a commission was appointed to determine the true boundary line and the matter was thus peaceably settled. The Monroe Doctrine had never been applied in just this way before. The arbitration committee decided that Great Britain was entitled to about all she was claiming.

The Election of 1896 was the most exciting one since the Civil War. The tariff was set aside and the money problem came to the front as the main issue of the campaign. The Democrats nominated William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, and declared in favor of the "free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1." The Republicans chose William McKinley, of Ohio, and declared themselves opposed to the free coinage of silver "except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world." In the meantime they pledged themselves to retain the present gold standard.

The Money Problem. Perhaps it would be well to put in a

word of explanation in regard to the monetary problem. When men are engaged in trade, it is necessary to have some standard of value or medium of exchange. For many years the United States had a double standard of value—the gold dollar and the silver dollar. The silver dollar was sixteen times as heavy as the gold dollar, but had the same value, since sixteen ounces of silver were worth the same as one ounce of gold. The ratio was then said to be sixteen to one. Both metals were admitted to free coinage; that is, the government would coin into money any amount of silver or gold which might be brought to the mint.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY

Mr. McKinley was born in Ohio in 1843. He served with distinction in the Civil War, and was for many years a valuable member of the House of Representatives, where he served as Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. He was elected President first in 1896 and again in 1900.

In 1873 the government stopped the free coinage of silver and made the gold dollar the single standard of value. There was then a complaint that there was not money enough to do the business of the country and that the scarcity of money brought on hard times. Now, in 1896, Mr. Bryan and his followers advocated the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, as it existed before 1873. The Republicans objected to this because sixteen ounces of silver were not then worth one ounce of gold. It took about twice this amount of silver to purchase one ounce of gold. Mr. Bryan and his followers said that this was so because the government had refused to coin the silver into money, and that the gold dollar had increased in value as a result.

The feeling throughout the country was intense. Mr. Bryan possessed remarkable oratorical powers, and made the most of them during the campaign. He did not, however, receive the

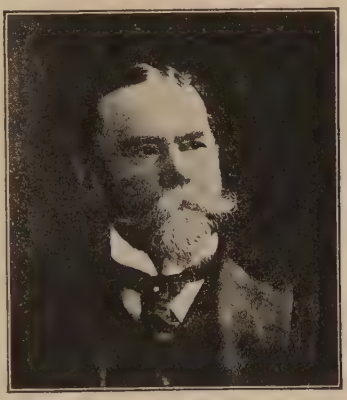
united support of his party. The influence of the Cleveland administration was against him and Mr. McKinley was elected.

President McKinley, 1897–1901. William McKinley was one of the best known men in American public life when he became President of the United States in 1897. He had served four years in the Union army, seven terms in the House of Representatives, and had been twice elected governor of Ohio. He was nominated for the presidency almost without opposition in the convention. The one great topic of interest in his administration was the war with Spain.

The Spanish-American War, 1898. Mr. McKinley had been in the presidential chair only about a year when a war broke out between Spain and the United States. The cause of the war was Cuba. Cuba was a Spanish possession, but the inhabitants of the island were not contented under Spanish rule, and repeatedly rose in revolt. In 1895 they rebelled for the sixth time in about half a century. They set up a republican form of government and declared themselves free and independent. The Spaniards used cruel measures in an attempt to crush the rebellion, but were not successful in doing so. The people of the United States naturally sympathized with the Cubans, and the barbarities of the Spanish soldiers shocked American citizens beyond measure. In addition to this many Americans were residing in Cuba at the time. Much American capital had been invested in business there, and the Americans were carrying on an extensive commerce with the island. The people of the United States felt that something should be done. Some wanted to buy the island and others wished to send an army to Cuba to drive out the Spaniards. An appeal was made to Spain to stop the cruelties, but to no avail. In the meantime things went from bad to worse. The summer of 1897 was a terrible one in Cuba. The country was being devastated and the people were dying of starvation, or were being slaughtered by the Spanish soldiers.

The Destruction of the Maine. Early in 1898 the American government sent the battleship *Maine* to Havana to protect

American interests at that place. On the night of February 15th, while riding peacefully at anchor in the harbor, the ship was shattered by the explosion of a submarine mine. Two hundred and sixty American soldiers were killed, and there was great excitement throughout the United States. The people said that Spain was responsible for the outrage, but it has never been proved that the destruction of the *Maine* was due to the Spanish government. An American officer in Cuba, Mr. Fitzhugh Lee, thought that "it was the act of four or five subordinate (Spanish) officers." However, it hastened the coming of war, and Congress voted fifty million dollars for national defense.



JOHN HAY

A distinguished statesman, diplomat, and man of letters; born in 1838. He was private secretary to President Lincoln, and served in the Civil War and as foreign minister. He made his greatest reputation as Secretary of State under Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt. While holding this office he insisted, in 1900, upon the "open door" policy in regard to China. This means that when the European powers wanted to divide up Chinese territory Mr. Hay insisted that it should not be done, and also that the commerce of China should be open to the world. He was joint author of Nicolay and Hay's "Life of Lincoln." He died while Secretary of State, in 1905.

On April 19th, the anniversary of the battle of Lexington, Congress passed resolutions declaring that the Cubans ought to be free and independent, and served notice upon Spain to withdraw her troops from the island. The President was authorized to use the army and navy of the United States, if necessary, to compel Spain to relinquish her authority over Cuba. Spain was given five days in which to make an answer to these resolutions. Her reply was to recall her minister from Washington and to dismiss the American minister at Madrid. This was equivalent to a declaration of war, and the two nations made ready for the fight.

Battle of Manila Bay. The first clash was at Manila Bay in

the Philippines. Commodore George Dewey, in charge of an American fleet, sailed out from Hong Kong, China, in search of the enemy. He came upon the Spaniards in Manila Bay and won a brilliant victory on May Day, 1898. He destroyed the entire Spanish fleet, without the loss of a man or a ship.

Battle of Santiago. The scene of action is now changed to Cuba. Another Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera had entered the harbor of Santiago and was being watched by American squadrons under Commodores Sampson and Schley. The en-

MAP OF PORTO RICO

Porto Rico is a mountainous tropical island about a thousand miles from the mainland of the United States. The island is unusually fertile. Principal crops are sugar, coffee, tobacco, cotton, and corn. Lumbering is one of the large industries.

trance to the port is narrow and crooked, and the Spanish ships within were entirely concealed from view. The Spaniards were "bottled up," and the Americans could only watch and wait. Finally Cervera tried to escape by making a wild dash out of the harbor on the morning of July 3rd. Four hours later, the entire Spanish fleet had been shot to pieces. Cervera and eighteen hundred men were made prisoners of war, while the Americans lost but one man and not a single ship. This battle practically ended the war. The news of it caused great rejoicing throughout the country, and the Fourth of July, 1898, was celebrated with patriotic spirit.

Miles Takes Porto Rico. A short time later General Nelson A. Miles took possession of Porto Rico, another Spanish colony.

The inhabitants of the island were apparently glad to see him, and even the Spanish soldiers made almost no resistance.

The Treaty of Peace. Beaten at all points, the Spaniards were ready for peace. The treaty of December 10, 1898, provided that Spain should give up her claim to Cuba and should cede Porto Rico, Guam (in the Ladrones), and the Philippine Islands to the United States. The United States in turn agreed to pay twenty million dollars to Spain.

THE THATCHED HUT OF A FILIPINO

The Filipino Rebellion. The Filipinos, however, were not satisfied at being turned over to the United States. They, too, had been in rebellion against Spain, and they wanted to set up an independent government of their own. When the United States decided that it would not be wise to give the Filipinos their independence at once, an insurrection followed. It was soon put down, however, by United States troops.

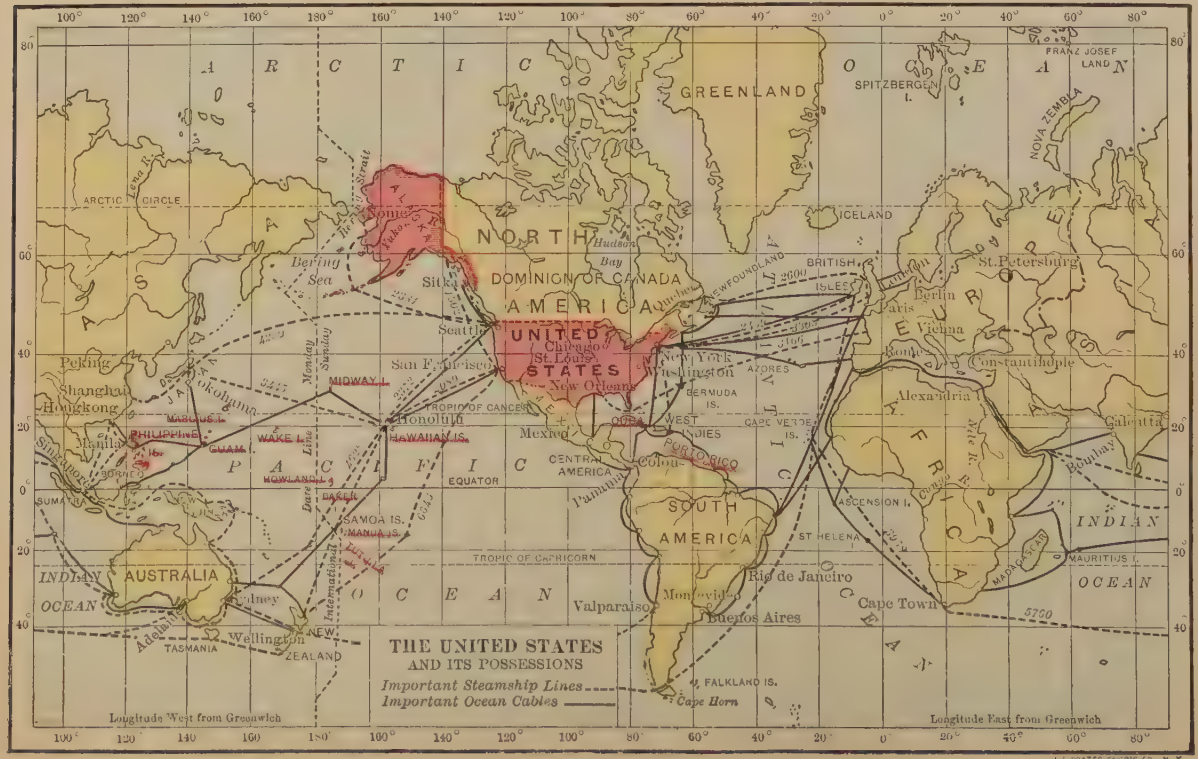
GOING TO MARKET IN THE PHILIPPINES
The caribou is used as a beast of burden and also for food.

Government in the Philippines. Now that the United States had possession of the Philippines, preparations were immediately made to give the islands an honest and stable government. Under the leadership of Judge William H. Taft, later Secretary of War, and President of the United States, a form of government was put into effect for the islands as a whole, and local governments were set up wherever possible.

Cuba and Porto Rico. Cuba was in a wretched condition at the close of the war and United States officers remained there for a considerable time to restore law and order. The annexation of the island was not thought of, as Congress had declared before the war began that the United States did not intend to take permanent possession of Cuba. Congress also said that it

Scene on a Sugar Plantation in the Hawaiian Islands

would "leave the government and control of the island to its people," after it had been pacified. In accordance with this pledge, steps were taken to turn the control of the island over to its inhabitants, and in June, 1901, the Cuban Republic was established with General Palma as the first President. In May of the following year the United States troops were withdrawn, and the Cubans were left to work out their own destiny. The United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AND ITS POSSESSIONS
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Longitude East from Greenwich
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ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
NORTH AMERICA
SOUTH AMERICA
EUROPE
ASIA
AFRICA
AUSTRALIA
GREENLAND
DOMINION OF CANADA
UNITED STATES
MEXICO
CENTRAL AMERICA
WEST INDIES
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BRITISH ISLES
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NOVA ZEMBLA
ARCTIC CIRCLE
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EQUATOR
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States still retained a general supervision over the foreign affairs of the island, but all domestic matters were placed in the hands of the Cubans themselves.

Annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. On July 7, 1898, while the war with Spain was in progress, the Hawaiian Islands were annexed to the United States. Their annexation may be looked upon as one of the results of the Spanish War. The inhabitants of the island had been working for annexation for years, but had not succeeded. Now, however, when the United States had acquired possessions in the Pacific, the American government was very glad to have the islands as a stepping-stone to the East. They were organized as a territory in 1900.

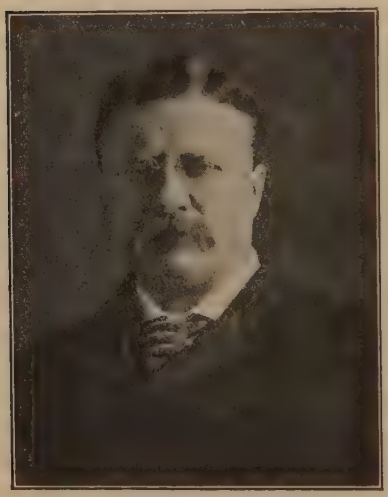
The Election of 1900 followed close upon the war with Spain. President McKinley had been successful and he was personally well liked by the people. No one else was thought of for the Republican nomination. Mr. Bryan was equally popular with his party and was again nominated by the Democrats. The Democrats declared against "territorial expansion" and "imperialism" — that is, they were opposed to the acquisition of the Philippine Islands and other outlying possessions and the governing of them as subject provinces. The money and tariff questions were also discussed to some extent. Mr. McKinley was again elected and Theodore Roosevelt of New York was chosen Vice-President.

McKinley and Roosevelt, 1901-1905. President McKinley entered upon his second term under very favorable circumstances, but just when his career was brightest and most promising he was shot by an assassin on September 6, 1901, while attending the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo. He died eight days later, and on September 14th Theodore Roosevelt became President of the United States. President Roosevelt was already known as a vigorous, honest, and high-minded man. He was a graduate of Harvard University, had fought with the Rough Riders in the Spanish War, and had served as governor of New York.

The Isthmian Canal. President Roosevelt served for nearly

eight years. During that time the country made great strides in industrial development. Many important projects were undertaken, and prominent among these was the canal across the Isthmus of Panama.

It had been evident for a century that a canal across the Isthmus connecting Central and South America would be of great military and commercial value to the world, and particularly to the United States. Attempts had been made from time to time to construct this canal, but without success. Finally, in 1898, when the battleship *Oregon* was compelled to make a voyage of fifteen thousand miles from San Francisco around Cape Horn in order to join the American fleet in the West Indies, the people of the United States determined that the canal should be dug. The matter was taken up at once and pushed vigorously. Early in 1904 the United States obtained a right of way across the Isthmus, and, after some necessary preparations, the work was begun.



THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Mr. Roosevelt was born in New York in 1858. He was graduated from Harvard, became a member of the New York legislature, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and later Governor of the State of New York. During the Spanish War he was Colonel of the "Rough Riders." He has written many books on American history and biography and outdoor life.

The Election of 1904. Mr. Roosevelt gave the country a vigorous administration. He became a leader in many reforms and made a popular President. In the summer of 1904 he was nominated by his party without opposition. The Democrats nominated Judge Alton B. Parker, of New York. Before his nomination, and while the convention was in session, Judge Parker

declared himself in favor of the gold standard. Enthusiasm for the free coinage of silver had subsided greatly in the last few years due to the increased supply of gold and other causes. During the campaign of 1904 territorial expansion or "imperialism," the trusts, and the tariff, were discussed. The Republicans favored expansion and a protective tariff, while the Democrats opposed both. Both parties favored the regulation and restriction of trusts. Mr. Roosevelt was elected by the largest popular majority ever given to a President.

President Roosevelt continued his vigorous and aggressive policy, and took the lead in many new reforms. His messages were notable and comprehensive documents. He made recommendations to Congress on various subjects, and many of these were enacted into laws. Some of them will be noted in a later chapter.

WILLIAM H. TAFT

Mr. Taft was born in Cincinnati in 1857 and was graduated from Yale in 1878. He soon became distinguished as a lawyer and was appointed United States District Judge in 1892. In 1903 he was offered an appointment as Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, but declined. He was the first Civil Governor of the Philippine islands and later Secretary of War. He became President of the United States on March 4, 1909.

Oklahoma and Indian Territory were united under the name of Oklahoma and admitted (November 16, 1907) as the forty-sixth state of the Union.

Affairs in Cuba. All was not peaceful in Cuba, and again the United States was obliged to send troops to the island. An election was held in 1905 and the results of it were not pleasing to the defeated party. A revolt followed. Since the United States government is bound by treaty to maintain law and order and protect life and property in Cuba, a part of the army was sent to the island for this purpose. The troops have since been withdrawn.

The Election of 1908. The Republican convention was held at Chicago in June, 1908, and the Democratic convention, at Denver, early in July of the same year. The Republicans nominated Judge William H. Taft, Secretary of War in President Roosevelt's Cabinet, and the Democrats nominated William J. Bryan, twice before the standard-bearer of his party. The tariff was again the principal issue, and after a vigorous campaign Judge Taft was elected President by a substantial majority.

The Return of the Fleet. The Atlantic fleet, of which previous mention has been made, returned from its famous cruise around the world on Washington's birthday, 1909, and was cordially welcomed home by the President of the United States. The long voyage was interesting and successful from every point of view. The officers obtained many practical lessons in fleet evolutions, and the gunners received much valuable experience in target practice.

The New President's Appointments. President Taft was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1909. A new Cabinet was immediately announced.

Late in 1910 President Taft appointed Edward Douglass White, of Louisiana, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the late Melville W. Fuller, who had served as Chief Justice since 1888. Justice White, a Democrat and a former Confederate soldier, had served as an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court since his appointment by President Cleveland in 1894.

The Payne-Aldrich Tariff, 1909. Less than two weeks after the inauguration Congress met in special session to consider a revision of the tariff. In 1909 a measure, generally known as the Payne-Aldrich Act, was passed by the two houses of Congress and signed by the President.

The Discovery of the North Pole, 1909. For centuries men had tried to reach the north geographical pole of the earth, but without success. That coveted goal was finally reached, however, on April 6, 1909, by Commander Robert E. Peary of the

United States Navy, after many heroic attempts covering more than twenty years. Peary and his companions spent thirty hours at the Pole taking scientific observations of various kinds. During a part of this time the thermometer stood at thirty degrees below zero. Although the sky was cloudless, for the most part, the place was desolate. No animal of any kind was to be seen. Peary described the ice at the Pole as being "chalky white" and practically level. The announcement of the success of the expedition was received with great enthusiasm all over the world, and high honors were bestowed upon Commander Peary and his hardy men.

The Census and the Reapportionment Act. The Constitution provides that the people of the United States shall be counted every ten years. The first census was taken in 1790 and showed a population of nearly 4,000,000. The census of 1910 showed a population of about 92,000,000, not including the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. This census was the first one taken by the permanent bureau established by act of Congress in 1902.

Congress passed an act in 1911 reapportioning the Representatives among the states in accordance with the census of 1910. The new act provides for a membership of 435 for the House of Representatives, with an average of 211,877 people for each congressional district.

The Tariff Board and Tariff Revision. In 1909 Congress authorized the President to appoint a Tariff Board to investigate comparative costs of production in this country and abroad and to report to the President. It was hoped that in this way Congress would know just how high the duty ought to be in each particular case in order to afford reasonable protection, but no more than that.

In the meantime, while the Tariff Board was at work, there was a growing impatience for immediate tariff revision. Attempts were therefore made to modify certain features of the Payne-Aldrich Act. Three bills were passed reducing or

abolishing the duties on woolen goods, cotton goods, and certain commodities which the farmer has to buy. These bills were promptly vetoed by the President on the ground that he would not favor any revision of the tariff until the Tariff Board had made its report. He insisted that his plan would result in revision of a more scientific character.

Reciprocity with Canada. President Taft made a determined effort to bring about reciprocity with Canada in regard to tariff duties.

An agreement was signed by representatives of the two countries early in 1911 and was immediately transmitted by the President to Congress for appropriate legislation. After considerable opposition the bill to carry out the agreement was passed by the two houses and was to go into effect as soon as a similar measure was passed by the Canadian Parliament. This has not been done and there is no prospect of its being done in the near future.

Arbitration Treaties. President Taft also favored a settlement of international difficulties by arbitration and caused two general treaties, one with Great Britain and the other with France, to be drawn up early in 1911. While the American people as a rule seem to be in favor of the principle of arbitration a considerable opposition arose to these particular treaties. They were so extensively amended by the Senate that they were not pushed further by the President.

Corruption in Elections. An unusually large number of election scandals have come to light in the last few years and as a result Congress and many of the state legislatures have passed laws intended to make our elections purer. These laws provide for publicity in the contribution and expenditure of campaign funds and prohibit the giving of money by corporations for campaign purposes. Laws are also being passed for the registration of voters and for the punishment of those who offer or receive bribes or vote illegally.

New States. A few years ago it was proposed to unite

the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona into one state bearing the name Arizona. The proposed union was submitted to a vote of the two Territories and was approved by New Mexico but rejected by Arizona. The project therefore failed. At a later time, however, the two Territories were admitted as separate states, New Mexico on the 6th of January, 1912, and Arizona on the 14th of February, 1912.

The Panama Canal. Work on the Canal is being steadily pushed forward and it is the expectation of Colonel Goethals, who has charge of the project, that the first boat will pass through the Canal not later than January 1, 1914.

Col. G. W. Goethals

The Panama Canal is one of the greatest engineering undertakings of the age. About 35,000 are employed upon it, and the total cost is estimated at $375,000,000. There is to be a coaling station at each end of the Canal and at the Pacific terminal there will be a dry dock, permanent shops, and a general storehouse. Congress has appropriated $3,000,000 for fortification purposes and work upon the forts has already begun. The fort at the Pacific terminal will be called Fort Grant, while those near the Atlantic terminal will be named Fort Sherman, Fort Randolph, and Fort De Lesseps.

The Arts of Peace. Interest in the peaceful pursuits of life has greatly increased in the United States in recent years. Especial attention is now paid to the conservation of our forests, mines, water-powers, and other natural resources.

The peace spirit is also growing. In the latter part of 1910 Mr. Andrew Carnegie set aside $10,000,000, the income

from which is to be used in the promotion of international peace.

Donations of private citizens for the establishment and maintenance of hospitals and other charitable institutions have increased very rapidly in recent years, and in many ways the tendency of our civilization is in the direction of "Peace on earth and good-will to men."

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. In what respect does the administration of President Hayes mark a new era?
2. If you can find the speeches of George William Curtis or Carl Schurz on Civil Service Reform and the "Spoils System," read a few selections from them.
3. Why were the greenbacks worth only thirty-five cents on the dollar at one time?
4. Why is the regulation of freight rates more important than the regulation of passenger rates?
5. What can be said in favor of the Australian Ballot system? Get a sample ballot and note the proper way of marking it in your state. (Many voters lose their votes because they do not know how to mark their ballots correctly.)
6. Try to find out something about the present conditions in the Philippine Islands.
7. Give the results of the Spanish-American War. Locate on the map the new possessions of the United States.
8. What will be the military and commercial importance of the Panama Canal? Take the globe and estimate the number of miles that the routes between important seaports will be shortened by the canal.

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CHAPTER XXXII

THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES SINCE THE CIVIL WAR

PERHAPS no other country in the world has had, in the same length of time, such a remarkable development as the United States has had since the Civil War. We must now study the story of this wonderful period of progress.

The industrial advancement of the country was checked by the war, but it started up with wonderful activity immediately after the close of the conflict. The war really hastened the growth of manufacturing, because it cut off our intercourse with foreign countries, and compelled us to make our own goods. The protective tariff also tended to keep out foreign goods and thus to encourage certain home manufactures. The United States had been known for a long time as a great agricultural country, but during the period which we are now studying it became the leading manufacturing nation of the world.

Labor-Saving Machinery. The most remarkable phase of our industrial development during the last forty years has been the manufacture and use of labor-saving machinery. American factories have turned out large numbers of intricate and delicate machines. Some of these work almost as if they could think. Henry Ward Beecher once said, when admiring such a piece of mechanism, that it ought to vote. It worked almost as if endowed with human intelligence.

The United States has also taken the lead in the manufacture of heavy machinery of all kinds. Man's burden has been greatly lightened in recent years by the use of ponderous machinery. Steam shovels, traveling cranes, and hoisting machinery of various kinds do the work formerly done by hand or not done at all. Almost everything nowadays is done by machinery.

The Sale of American Machines. American tools, implements, and machines are to be found on every continent. If an American tourist travels in foreign lands, he sees at almost every step evidences of the mechanical skill of his countrymen.

The tourist might leave New York harbor in a steamship made in American yards; while landing at Liverpool he might see boats from all quarters of the earth being loaded and unloaded by the use of cranes and other machinery of American manufacture; he might make the trip from Liverpool to London over American rails and behind an American locomotive; while riding over the country he might read an English newspaper printed upon an American press from type set by an American type-setting machine.

If he visited the land of Burns, he might see American binders at work in the highlands, and American electric cars whizzing along the streets of Glasgow.

In Dublin his way might be lighted by electricity produced by American dynamos.

If he crossed over to continental Europe, he would see American machinery on every hand in France and Germany. In the Scandinavian countries he might see plows from Indiana and cash registers from Ohio. In Hungary he might see a score of American binders at work on a single estate. In the Russian navy he could pick out battleships of American construction, and might travel across Siberia and Manchuria on American rails and behind American locomotives. In Palestine he might eat bread made from Minneapolis flour, and sleep upon a bedstead made in Grand Rapids. In Bombay he might see American windmills at work irrigating the land. If he wished to visit the Ganges River, sacred to the Hindus, he would probably be carried to its banks by a locomotive built in the United States. If he cared to do so, he might go to Burmah and cross a famous pass upon an American bridge nearly half a mile long and 820 feet high. This bridge was made in sections in the United States and shipped fifteen thousand miles to the place where it now stands. If he

pushed on down into the little hermit kingdom of Korea, he might ride upon an American electric car in Seoul, the capital of that country.

If he went over to Africa, he might ride to the pyramids of Egypt either on an electric car or behind an American locomotive; but in either case the road and the rolling stock would be of American construction. At Cairo he might again see the familiar trolley car. At Uganda in Central Africa he may see American cash registers operated by dusky natives in African costume. At Durban in South Africa he may see American typewriters, also operated by natives; and if he visits the mines of South Africa, he will again find machinery made in his native land.

American bridges have been erected on every continent, and American harvesting machinery is found wherever grain is grown in large quantities. American electrical machinery is in use wherever electric lighting plants or electric lines are in operation; and American sewing machines, cash registers, typewriters, linotype machines, and printing presses almost have a monopoly of the world's business.

In colonial times England attempted to suppress manufacturing in the colonies. At the present time American implements and American machinery have found their way into almost every British colony. Up to 1830 the manufacturing business of the United States was not extensive. When the first railroads were being built in this country, we sent to England for our rails. A great change has since taken place. We are now sending thousands of tons of rails to England every year and American locomotives are running on every important railroad in Great Britain. We have sent as many as one hundred locomotives to England in a single year. One half of the English newspapers are printed on American presses, and probably one half of the electric cars of Great Britain are moved by American motors.

It has been said with truth that the sun never sets on British

possessions. It is equally true that the sun never sets upon American machinery.

The Age of Machinery. We are living in an age of machinery. An English traveler who visited this country immediately after the Civil War said that Americans were making machines to do almost everything. "We find America producing a machine," he said, "even to peel apples; another to beat eggs; a third to clean knives; a fourth to wring clothes; — in fact, human hands" are being replaced everywhere by machinery. If the same English observer should visit the United States at the present time, he would see machines far more wonderful than the simple ones which he mentioned. He might see, for instance, a printing press turning out in one hour 150,000 eight page daily papers, all cut, pasted, folded, and counted. He would find that the cobbler and the shoemaker have been replaced by swift and accurate machines. "The human hand does little but guide the material from machine to machine, and the hammering, the stamping, and the sewing are all done by the tireless energy of steam."

Reasons for Progress. What is the reason for this progress? In the first place, it must be admitted that the American has shown great inventive skill and ingenuity in the construction and use of labor-saving machines. He has built good practical machines at a comparatively small cost.

The secret of the low price of the American machine, however, has been in the use of interchangeable parts. As a rule each part of a machine is exactly like the corresponding part of every other machine of the same kind. The fact that the parts are alike and hence interchangeable makes construction cheap. It also makes it an easy matter to repair a machine by replacing the broken part with a new piece ordered by number. Eli Whitney, the inventor of the cotton-gin, was the first man to use this principle of interchangeable parts in manufacturing. The system was introduced into Europe in 1851 by the exhibition of some American machines at the World's Fair in London.

Patents. The records of the patent office in Washington

PRODUCTS OF THE UNITED STATES

constitute an interesting history of mechanical development in the United States. Many of the most useful inventions now in use were either made or greatly improved upon since the Civil War. Among these might be mentioned the telephone, the typewriter, the linotype machine, the cash register, steel frames for buildings, electric lamps, and bridges of various kinds. In 1906 thirty-two thousand patents were issued in the United States, — the largest number ever granted in a single year. Thomas A. Edison alone holds patents on more than one thousand different electrical devices.

A Pioneer's Cabin in the State of Washington

Agriculture. The use of labor-saving machinery accounts for a large part of the progress made in agriculture since the Civil War. During the war it was necessary to use machinery to a large extent on account of the scarcity of labor. It is estimated that there were 250,000 reapers in use in the United States in 1865, each of which could cut ten acres of grain in a day. The use of agricultural machinery increased the amount of farm products to such an extent that the United States was looked upon as the chief source of the food products and raw materials of Europe.

Scientific Agriculture. The Department of Agriculture at Washington, the agricultural colleges, and the United States experiment stations have also indirectly increased the output of the farm by teaching better and more scientific methods of agriculture. The farmer has been taught to economize and to raise more and better products upon a given amount of land.

It should be borne in mind in this connection that most Amer-

ican land is remarkably productive. In 1880 the United States possessed fifteen per cent of the grain-growing lands of the globe, and this area produced thirty per cent of the world's grain.

Flour Mills and the Roller Process. Wheat raising in the United States was also greatly stimulated by the invention of the roller process for the making of flour. The old mill stones were replaced by iron rollers which turn the wheat into flour by means of a crushing process. Under the old process winter wheat, or wheat sown in the fall, was preferable to spring wheat. It was then found that the spring wheat, when ground by means of the roller process, made better flour than the winter wheat. This was a great benefit to Minnesota, the Dakotas, and other places in the Northwest where spring wheat of good quality could be raised, but where the climate was too cold for winter wheat.

Truck Farming. As soon as the broad prairies of the West began to produce large quantities of grain, the New England farmer turned his attention largely to truck gardening. He could not compete with the western farmer in raising wheat, but he could do a profitable business in supplying vegetables and fruits for the cities and towns in his locality. In recent years this business has been very greatly helped by improved facilities for transportation. The trolley line and the refrigerator car bring fruit, meat, vegetables, milk, and other perishable products to the city market in a very short time and in excellent condition.

The refrigerator car has been of great importance in the fruit and meat trade. It was first used a few years after the Civil War, and is now looked upon as indispensable. By means of this, beef, pork, and fresh fruits may be shipped almost any distance, and can be kept perfectly fresh and wholesome.

Harvesting Machinery. The grain-growing business has always been important in this country. Over ten thousand patents had been granted by the United States government before 1880 upon implements and machines to be used in sowing, harvesting, and threshing grain. By use of these machines a man in 1880 could do as much work as twelve men in 1830, in gather-

ing grain and preparing it for the market. Instead of long rows of men working with sickles or cradles, one may now see forty binders at work at once on an Iowa farm. On the large Dakota farms, one may see immense traction engines pulling gang plows,

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A COMBINED HARVESTER AND THRESHER WORKING AT WALLA WALLA, WASHINGTON

drills, and harvesting machinery. The work of the farm has been revolutionized everywhere by the use of binders, mowers, horse-rakes, hay-tedders, hay-loaders, corn-planters, corn-cutters and shredders, potato-planters, manure-spreaders, ditch-diggers, straw-stackers, and scores of other labor-saving machines. "The agricultural supremacy of the United States," says a French writer,

"has been won through the combined use of machinery and domestic animals to turn into wealth the fertility of a virgin soil."

The Dairy. The dairy business has also been greatly changed in recent years. Just after the war the old dash churn was about the only piece of machinery used in butter-making.

Labor-saving machinery has now found its way into the dairy. The cream separator is one of the most important of these. The old process of setting and skimming has been done away with,

AN IRRIGATION CANAL IN CALIFORNIA
The gateway is at the right.

and the new process is cleaner and more economical. The old methods of milking and butter-making on the farm were often unclean and insanitary. At the present time large quantities of butter and cheese are made by scientific methods in farm dairies which are almost spotlessly clean.

Irrigation. The fertile lands of the West have now for the most part been placed under cultivation and the United States has little to offer to western settlers. The American frontier has vanished with the Indian and the buffalo. There is, however, a large area of land in the West and South which used to be known

as the great American desert. Much of this tract has been of almost no value up to the present time. Now, however, the United States government is reclaiming it by irrigation, and in the process of time it is expected that all of this desert will be turned over to settlers. This arid land is found in Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and adjoining states and territories. The water from the rivers is being stored up in reservoirs to be used for irrigating the land at convenient intervals. Lands which, a short time ago, would raise nothing but sagebrush, jack rabbits, and coyotes, are now producing great quantities of fruit, vegetables, and grain. This is a great undertaking, and it is expected that hundreds of thousands of acres will be transformed from a barren desert into flourishing farms.

Forests. The United States government is also making an attempt to protect and to restore American forests. The splendid timber of the country has been slashed down and largely wasted. The result is that lumber has become scarce and dear and a large part of the beauty of the country has been destroyed. Floods also have become more numerous and destructive since the forests have been cut away. Some care is now being given to the remnants of our once magnificent forests. An attempt is also being made to plant trees on the rugged places which are unfit for ordinary cultivation. In this respect the United States is following in the footsteps of European nations. In the summer of 1908 a number of state governors and others interested in the matter met in Washington, at the call of President Roosevelt, to consider the whole subject of the conservation of our national resources.

Fisheries. The United States fish commission is also placing large numbers of minnows in lakes and streams to take the place of the fish caught in recent years. Laws have been enacted for the protection and preservation of fish and wild game, but have not been very well enforced. It is important that these and all other laws should be observed.

Manufactures. A recent writer has remarked, "The most

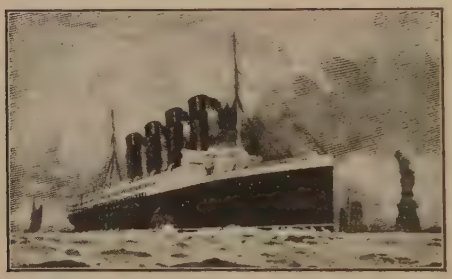
striking feature in the recent industrial development of the United States has been the enormous growth of manufactures." A few figures will illustrate the truth of this statement. The population of the country in 1900 was three times its population in 1850; the value of agricultural products in 1900 was three times the value of those produced in 1850; but the value of manufactured goods in 1900 was twelve times their value in 1850, and the amount

A Manufacturing Center, Homestead, Pennsylvania

of capital invested in factories in 1900 was nineteen times the amount invested in 1850. The greater part of this remarkable development has taken place in the last twenty-five years. In 1890 the value of manufactured goods exceeded, for the first time, the value of agricultural products; and in 1900 the value of manufactured goods was double that of the farm products. At the close of the Civil War the United States stood fourth as a producer of manufactured goods. Thirty years later she stood

first and now ranks as "the leading manufacturing nation of the world."

Why? It is interesting to ask the reason for this industrial supremacy. It is not because the Americans are so much brighter and abler than the people of other nations. They had many natural advantages. They were the possessors of a vast area of the most fertile soil in the world. The great American prairies were ideal places for the growing of grain. Immense forests and rich mines of coal, iron, copper, gold, and silver furnished splendid raw material for manufacturing. The Americans have shown themselves to be energetic, intelligent, and above all, exceedingly ingenious in the construction and use of labor-saving machinery, but should not take too much credit to themselves for their industrial advancement.



STEAMSHIP "LUSITANIA" ENTERING NEW YORK HARBOR

This is one of the largest and swiftest steamers afloat. She crosses the Atlantic in less than five days. It took the "Pilgrim Fathers" sixty-three days to cross.

The Development of the Railroad. The railroad has had a remarkable development since the Civil War. This would naturally be expected, as there was a great demand in the early sixties for better transportation facilities. The farmer wished to get his products to the market and the manufacturer was looking for cheap and rapid transportation for his goods. The western settler also wished to have easy communication with the seaboard. The development of agriculture and manufacturing and the settlement of the West naturally resulted in the development of the railroad.

In 1908 there were two hundred and thirty thousand miles of railroad in the United States. This country has two fifths of the entire railroad mileage of the world and more than the com-

bined mileage of all the European countries. More than a million and a half of men are now employed by railroad companies and one seventh of the total wealth of the country is invested in the railroad business.

Railway Rates. American Freight Rates are lower than those of Europe, yet there has been considerable complaint in this regard in recent years. It has been said by shippers that special rates have been given to particular individuals and to certain

Iron Ore Shipping Routes

localities. These discriminations, as they are called, were prohibited by law so that all shippers might be placed on the same footing. Congress recently passed a law (1906) regulating railway rates. This law forbids the granting of free passes and provides for "just and reasonable rates." Many of the states have passed laws providing for a two-cent rate for passenger travel.

Passenger rates in the United States are somewhat higher than those in Europe, but the service on the whole is better and more luxurious. Accidents, however, are far more frequent in the

United States. More than ten thousand persons were killed in railroad accidents in the United States in 1908, and about one hundred thousand were injured in the same year. Steps are being taken by the government, and particularly by the railroads, to prevent this wholesale loss of life.

Steel Rails. Great improvements were made in the roadbed and rolling stock soon after the war. Steel rails took the place of iron ones, engines were made heavier and stronger, and freight

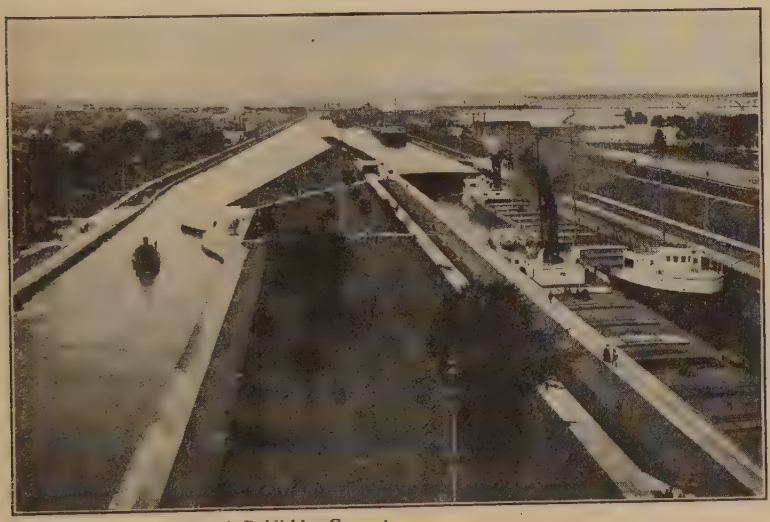
DRIVING THE LAST SPIKE ON THE FIRST TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILWAY

cars of greater capacity were constructed. Sleeping and dining cars were also put into use, and bridges of steel and stone took the place of wooden ones. Substantial roadbeds of gravel and broken stone were also constructed. Grades were cut down, curves were straightened, and many other improvements were made.

The First Transcontinental Line. During the Civil War, and even earlier, a need was felt for lines of railroad extending to the Pacific Coast. The great western country was only sparsely settled and there was not much local passenger and freight business for a railroad to do. Hence the companies were

slow to push their lines beyond the Mississippi River. The government gave them some encouragement by offering large gifts of land and money, and finally the Union Pacific, the first transcontinental line, was completed on May 10, 1869.

The road was built in the face of stubborn resistance of every kind. There was opposition to it in Congress, and the Indian of the western plains fought its construction at almost every step. The road was built by two construction companies, one working



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THE LOCKS AT SAULT STE. MARIE, MICHIGAN

toward the east, and the other toward the west. They finally met at Promontory Point, Utah, and the two parts of the road were joined with impressive ceremonies. The last spike, made of California gold, was driven at this place in the midst of great rejoicing. A motley throng of people, made up of Indians, cowboys, society women, statesmen, and others, gathered to witness the scene. It was felt that an important undertaking had been accomplished in connecting with iron rails the two sides of the continent. Other transcontinental lines have been built from time to time.

The Great Lakes. The Great Lakes also carry an extensive commerce. About one third of the entire freight tonnage of the United States is carried on the waters of these lakes. In 1906 the freight passing through the Sault Ste. Marie Canal was three times the amount passing through the Suez Canal.

Electric Lines. Transportation facilities have been very greatly improved in recent years by the introduction of electric

AN ELECTRIC TRAIN ON THE NEW YORK CENTRAL RAILROAD
The electric locomotive is displacing the steam locomotive for certain kinds of work. It is more powerful and hence is used for hauling trains over the Rocky Mountains. It is also smokeless and is used in tunnels and subways, and within the limits of certain cities.

or trolley lines. These have been built all over the country, but particularly in Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana. Their growth has been rapid since 1895. They offer frequent service, low rates, and pleasant accommodations. For short trips the electric line has become quite popular. It has made the farm more easily accessible and has improved social conditions in the rural districts. It has also made it possible for boys and girls from the country to attend city schools while living at home.

Telegraph and Telephone. The development of the country has also been greatly facilitated by the use of the telegraph and the telephone. Although the electric telegraph was invented

before the Civil War, many of its most important improvements have been made since that time. Wireless telegraphy has also been much used in recent years. It has already been adopted by the United States signal service, by the navy, and by several steamship lines. It is being used with considerable success and may revolutionize the telegraphic business.

The Atlantic Cable was laid in 1866 by Cyrus W. Field after many years of arduous labor. It was a tremendous task to connect America and Europe with a telegraphic cable lying upon the bed of the ocean. Field worked incessantly for twelve years and crossed the ocean fifty times before he succeeded in his great undertaking.

A Wireless Telegraph Station on Long Island

In January of 1909, the Steamship "Republic" was rendered helpless by a collision. Other steamers, summoned by wireless telegraphy, came to her assistance and saved all on board. The "Republic" sank soon after.

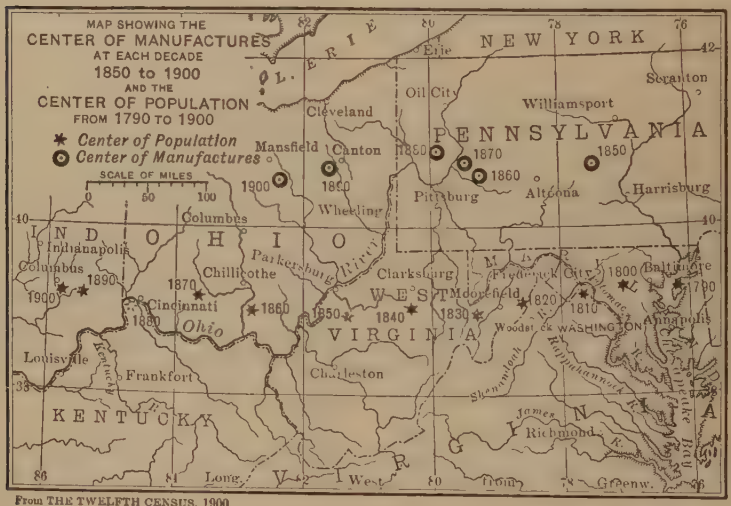
A few years ago the telephone was looked upon as an interesting toy. It is now an indispensable part of any successful business. The telegraph, the ocean cable, and the telephone have aided largely in building up the great daily papers of the world.

The South. The South has shown a remarkable industrial development in the last twenty years. Cotton culture has been greatly increased and the iron and coal industries have been developed. Rich deposits of oil have recently been found in Texas, and much of the yellow pine of the country is coming from the forests of the South. Trunk lines of railroad are being built and educational facilities are being vastly improved. Cotton mills are springing up everywhere, and manufacturing is rapidly becoming an important feature of the "New South."

In 1900 the industrial center of the United States was located near Mansfield, Ohio. In succeeding years it will probably be

somewhat south of this point. The center of population is now located near Columbus, Indiana.

Labor Problems. This vast industrial development has naturally given rise to a large number of labor problems. Difficulties have always existed between the employer and the laboring man and these have become more serious in recent years. Labor unions have been formed for the purpose of bettering the condition of the working classes. Unions have contended for a shorter



From THE TWELFTH CENSUS, 1900.

day, higher wages, sanitary surroundings, and the "closed shop," that is, the shop which employs only members of a labor union. Unions have also done much for the social and educational improvement of their members.

American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor is made up of labor unions of various kinds. Its policy has been to aid in the adjustment of labor difficulties and to assist the working-man in his contest with the employer. The Federation has not gone into politics, but has attempted to accomplish its purpose in other ways.

Employers' Associations. Employers of labor have also organized themselves into associations in order to resist the demands of the labor unions.

Conflicts between capital and labor have in many instances been settled peaceably by arbitration. When a disagreement occurs between an employer and his workmen, the matter is frequently submitted to a committee or board of arbitration. Neither party to the conflict is obliged to accept the decision of

JAMESTOWN EXPOSITION, 1907

The exposition was held near Norfolk, Virginia. The picture shows a fleet of war ships of the United States before starting on a trip around the world.

the committee, but both parties should feel in honor bound to do so. Arbitration as a means of settling labor disputes is becoming more and more popular, and it has even been proposed that compulsory arbitration should be resorted to in important cases.

Exhibitions. The progress of the country has been well displayed in the great expositions which have been held from time to time. The first of these was the Centennial Exposition, held at Philadelphia in 1876. This exposition furnished a remarkable object lesson in the industrial development of the United

WRIGHT AIRSHIP

This was the first aeroplane to make a public test of its flying properties. It made several flights but finally fell at Ft. Myer, near Washington, D. C., and killed one man and injured one of its inventors.

States. It was a surprise both to Americans and Europeans. The World's Fair held in Chicago in 1893, the Pan-American Exposition held in Buffalo in 1901, and the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis in 1904, contained displays of the world's best agricultural products and manufactured goods.

The Future. What the future will bring forth no one can say. It is probable, however, that the progress of the next forty years will be even more remarkable than that made since the Civil War.

The present is frequently called the "age of electricity." Electricity is now used for a score of different purposes and its use is probably only in its infancy. Its use between 1890 and 1900 increased twenty-seven fold. American submarine boats and airships are being successful to a marked degree. Wonderful structures like the Brooklyn Bridge of New York,

IMMIGRANTS LANDING AT NEW YORK

The number of immigrants increased from 223,000 in 1898 to 1,285,000 in 1907.

and the Eads Bridge of St. Louis are being constructed in all parts of the country. The surface of the earth is becoming too crowded for the activities of man, and elevated railroads are being built to relieve the pressure. Great underground passages like the New York and Boston

One of the Tall Buildings in New York

This at the present time is one of the tallest buildings in the world. It is one seventh of a mile high and contains forty-six stories. It can be seen far out at sea and for many miles around.

The Panama Canal

This picture shows the principal features of the canal. Notice the location of the important locks; also the location of the famous Culebra Cut. This cut is eight miles long and about three hundred feet deep at its deepest point. The canal runs northwest and southeast.

subways have been constructed for the same purpose. "Sky-scrapers" of remarkable height are pushing their way up into the clouds. Thirty years ago a ten-story building in New York was considered one of the wonders of the age. Now

a forty-five story building is looked upon with less astonishment. Although the United States has accomplished great things in the last forty years, she has probably only started upon the road of industrial development.

THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA AND THE CANAL ROUTE

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Why did the government desire a transcontinental line of railroad?
2. Write to the Patent Office, Washington, D. C., and ask for a copy of the directions for obtaining a patent.
3. Notice the changes which electric lines are bringing about in your locality. Talk with your parents and others about these changes.
4. Talk with some officer or member of a labor union and ask him questions about his organization. Interview some member of an Employers' Association in a similar way. Study the parade and listen to the speeches on Labor Day.
5. Visit the factories of your town and get an idea of the way in which things are made.
6. Write to the United States Reclamation Service, Washington, D. C., for information in regard to the land irrigated by the government.
7. Write to the Board of Forestry in regard to the value of our forests, national reservations, etc.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

1. Sparks, "The United States," Vol. II, 332–356.
2. Shaler, "The United States of America," Chapters, I, II, III, V, VI, VIII, XIII, XIV, and XV.
3. Coman, "Industrial History of the United States."
4. Bogart, "Economic History of the United States."
5. See also three interesting and instructive articles in *Scribner's Magazine*, for January, February, and March, 1902, by Frank Vanderlip, entitled "The American Commercial Invasion of Europe."

CHAPTER XXXIII

PRESENT DAY GOVERNMENT: AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

History and Civics. The chief purpose in studying American history is to enable us to become better American citizens. The history of the past is one of the best and safest guides in the civic life of to-day. It was a proud boast in ancient days when one was able to say, "I am a Roman citizen." To be an American citizen ought to be considered an equal honor. The children in our schools to-day are American citizens, because our Constitution says that all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to its jurisdiction are citizens of the United States and of the state in which they live. So these school children, boys and girls, are "not merely *going to be citizens;* they *are* citizens *now*" with rights, privileges, and duties. They are interested in good government, good laws, and good order. They are under obligation to help to secure these blessings in the home, in the school, and in the community. They should seek to know their country's history; to learn of its mistakes as well as of its achievements; and to know what is best for their school, village, city, state, and country, so that their citizenship may be as intelligent and as useful as possible.

Making American Citizens. Our population has been constantly increasing by immigration. In less than one hundred years we have received into this country more than twenty-six million people from foreign countries. In recent years, the immigrants have come sometimes at the rate of a million a year. To take in these people from foreign lands, to assimilate them, that is, to make them a part of the *blood and bone* of America so that they may be true and patriotic American citizens, —

this has been one of the great achievements of our country. Our public schools, supported by rich and poor alike, have enabled us to do this. Coming from many lands and speaking many languages, most of these foreigners have become Americans in whom patriotism and devotion to liberty and good government are as marked as in our native sons.

Who are Voters? *Voters* are those who take part in elections to choose the officers of the government, or who, by the expression of their opinion at the ballot box, help to determine the government's policy. All citizens are not voters. Women and children are citizens, but children are not allowed to vote because they are still under the control of others, and in only a few states are women allowed to vote. Some voters are not citizens, since in some states *aliens* who have merely declared their intention to become citizens are allowed to vote. We should remember that the states determine who may vote.

Duties of Voters. One of the most valuable lessons which our history teaches us is that, in a government like ours, the voter is an exceedingly important factor. In a self-governing country he is the supreme ruler. "Voters are the uncrowned kings who rule the nation." This being the case, the conscientious voter should not take his responsibility lightly. He should vote at elections and take part in nominating conventions whenever it is possible for him to do so. If he remains away from the polls and the primaries and leaves these important matters to dishonest men, he has no right to expect that his city, state, or nation will be well governed. Instead of shirking his responsibility he should meet it in an intelligent way. He should study the questions upon which he votes and should seek information in regard to the character and ability of the various candidates for office. He should vote for honest men and for honest measures and should place the welfare of his country above that of his party.

Political Parties. Citizens believing in certain principles or favoring certain policies of government form themselves into

organizations and seek to vote and act together in politics. When such a body of citizens nominates candidates of its own for President and Vice-President it becomes a political party. There are now two large parties in the United States and several smaller ones. The party which is successful in the election has control of the government and the policies of this political party are carried out.

Nominating Conventions. Conventions are held by the various parties to nominate candidates for national, state, county, city, and other local offices. These conventions are made up of delegates chosen to represent the voters of the party in the various localities. A national convention, for instance, is made up of delegates chosen in the various states; a state convention is made up of delegates chosen in the various counties; a county convention is made up of delegates chosen in the various townships; while a city convention is composed of delegates from the various wards or voting precincts of the city.

The National Convention. The most interesting of all these meetings are the great national conventions held once in four years to nominate candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency. In the Democratic and Republican conventions, each state is allowed twice as many delegates as it has senators and representatives in Congress. In addition to this, the territories and the District of Columbia are given a number of delegates which differs from time to time. The convention is thus made up of nearly one thousand delegates and proceeds to business in the presence of tens of thousands of people from all parts of the United States. Eloquent speeches are made in placing the names of the various candidates before the convention. When this and other preliminary business has been disposed of, a ballot is taken. In the Republican convention a majority vote is sufficient to nominate, but the Democrats insist upon a two-thirds vote. When there is keen competition for the presidential nomination, as there usually is, the greatest excitement prevails in the convention hall and also in the convention city. This excite-

ment subsides when the candidate for the presidency has been nominated. There is not so much interest in the vice-presidency. The office is not so eagerly sought after. If the presidential candidate comes from the East, the vice-presidency is likely to go to the West, and *vice versa*.

Party Platforms. The convention also frames the party platform. This document expresses the views of the party upon the great political questions of the day. A party, for example, will declare *for* or *against* a protective tariff. It will favor or oppose the free coinage of silver, and it may express its views upon a score of other important problems. A paragraph touching upon some important issue is called a " plank," and the several planks constitute the " platform " upon which the party stands.

The platform is the pledge of the party to the people, and a party, if successful, is expected to live up to its pledges. A party which fails to keep these pledges is not very likely to be returned to office.

Primary Elections. A Primary Election, or a Primary, is an election held by the voters of one party, sometime before the regular election, to determine who shall be the candidates of the party for the various offices. A great deal of dissatisfaction has arisen with the convention method of nominating candidates for local offices, and many states have passed primary election laws. Under the convention method, delegates are sent to the county seat, for example, to nominate candidates for the various county offices. The conventions are often more or less under the control of political "bosses" and do not represent the will of the people. Under the primary system the members of the party vote at convenient places all over the county directly for the various candidates. The persons receiving the largest number of votes in each case are the nominees of the party. The primary method tends to place nominations in the hands of the people; and while the plan has not been wholly successful, it seems to be growing in popular favor.

Independent Voting. Although the leading political parties are strong, and probably always will be, the independent vote has greatly increased in recent years. Voters do not cling to their political parties so closely as they once did. The people are now insisting that the parties shall nominate good men. If a party fails to do this the independent vote is likely to go to the opposing candidate. Party allegiance is not so strong in the United States as it once was.

There is also a tendency to separate local from national politics. Mayors of cities, for example, are elected in many cases because of their honesty and business ability and with little thought of their national politics. This same principle is applicable to other local officers. It does not matter what a street commissioner, a policeman, a mayor or a county clerk thinks about the tariff or free trade, or other national issues. These officers have nothing to do with such matters and they should be chosen because they will be faithful and capable in attending to the duties of their offices, and not because of their religious or political opinions.

Purity in Elections: Vote-Buying and Bribery. We cannot have honest and efficient government without purity in elections. The Australian ballot system (page 410) marked a giant stride in this direction, and many of the states have passed other laws intended to bring about honest and fair elections. Some of these election laws make it illegal to assess public officials for campaign purposes. In certain states it is illegal for a candidate to promise to use his power or influence to procure an office for a person in return for his vote. It is considered, apparently, to be just as bad to buy a man's vote by promising him an office as by giving him money.

These laws have done much to purify elections. They would have done more, if strictly enforced. One of our most urgent needs in the United States to-day is for better law enforcement. We have good statutes, but too many of them are dead letters. This lessens the respect for law. England has an election law

which is more stringent than any yet passed in the United States, and its provisions are lived up to. The English law, instead of imposing fine and imprisonment for its violation, makes the election void, and in some cases renders the candidate who violates the law ineligible for all time to hold any office. The English law also prohibits "treating," and does not allow the candidate to pay the expense of bringing voters to the polls in carriages.

Voters should be free and independent. If men can buy votes and control elections, they will run the government in their own interest. Vote-buying is one of the basest of political practices. A man who would bribe his fellow citizen is a public enemy. He would debase the citizen, debauch the ballot, and destroy popular government. If money is to decide the election, why should good men care to vote at all?

Patriotism and Good Citizenship. A patriot is one who loves and serves his country. He will also love and serve his township, village, city, and state. He does not boast about the great things which his country has done; neither does he despise other nations. He does not necessarily seek office nor go to war; though the true patriot may render a good service either in office or upon the battlefield. If necessary, the patriotic citizen will give up his life for his country.

But it is as noble to live for one's country as to die for it. It sometimes requires a great deal of bravery to perform, in the face of opposition, the common everyday duties of peace. As Lowell says,

> "Life may be given in many ways,
> And loyalty to truth be sealed
> As bravely in the closet as the field,
> So generous is fate."

The true patriot will strive to avoid war and conquest. He may wish to be ready for war, but will resort to arms only when

all other means have failed. He will promote the nation's welfare in every unselfish and honorable way, and will endeavor to make his country a noble example of honor, sobriety, and fair-dealing to all the nations of the world. In time of peace the citizen can exhibit his patriotism in no better way than by making an honest living; by respecting the rights of his fellow-men; by obeying the laws; by insisting upon just and fair treatment for all classes of people; by voting for good men and good laws; by loving righteousness and hating iniquity to the end that he will fight all forms of cheating, fraud, and "graft" in public office and strive in every way to save his country, his state, and his city from the dishonor of wrong-doing. The citizen who does his duty in time of peace will not be found wanting in time of war.

Public Spirit. The patriot is also a citizen of public spirit. He stands ready to contribute time and money to the public good. A man may obey the laws and keep out of the hands of the officers of the law for his own comfort and good name; he may pay taxes because he is compelled to do so; but if he does not do more than this he will not be the best type of citizen. The public-spirited citizen will try to have taxes justly levied and honestly expended; he will strive for better roads, cleaner streets, better sanitary regulations, better schools, and a strict enforcement of law. He will not seek office unless he feels that he can perform a good public service. The salary alone will not attract him. He will serve without compensation on the boards of educational and charitable institutions. He will support and encourage such voluntary organizations as the Associated Charities, the Red Cross Society, and the Society for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis. He will be interested in civic improvement associations and in the establishment of public libraries, playgrounds, and parks.

Jury Service. The duty of serving upon a jury in a court of law is an important duty of citizenship. An intelligent investigating committee in one of our large cities spoke as follows

in a recent report: "No child should be permitted to leave the grammar school until he has had thoroughly instilled into him a strong sense of his obligation to the State to set aside all prejudice or private interest and act as juryman in any case in which he may be summoned. He should be taught that this obligation is sacred, and that its performance is the highest kind of public service. . . . ." One can easily see that if the intelligent and honest man declines to sit on a jury, his place will be taken by some one much less desirable. To secure justice in court is the first and highest duty of the State and its citizens.

In short, the public-spirited citizen will give his moral and financial support to any movement or organization which tends to enhance the interests of his country or to improve conditions in the community in which he lives. He will not devote all of his time and energy in a selfish way to his own private interests. In spite of all that has been written and said in recent years about dishonesty in public office and fraud in private business, it is undoubtedly true that conditions in the United States are steadily growing better. It is also true that this improvement has been due very largely to the efforts of patriotic and public-spirited citizens. These citizens have been men and women and boys and girls. All have had a part in this important work.

Problems to be Solved. Although great advances have already been made, many problems yet remain to be solved. Our government, particularly that of our cities, should be made better; the facilities for education should be improved and extended; our national resources should be conserved, and not wasted; means of transportation should be improved and increased so that the products of our factories and farms may more easily reach the markets of the world; crime, intemperance, and poverty should be decreased, disease prevented, and life, liberty, and property better protected under the law. These things depend on good government and good citizenship, and should be the concern of all. The ideal citizen will seek to under-

stand these problems and do whatever he can to promote the welfare of the nation, the state, and the community in which he lives.

* * * *

We have traced American history and the development of American government from the time of Columbus to the present day. It is an inspiring story. In a little over a hundred years the United States has grown from a few straggling, disunited colonies on the Atlantic coast to one of the great nations of the world, with a population of nearly ninety-two millions of people. Of this number, about one third live in the original thirteen states, one third in the territory ceded by the original states to the general government, and one third beyond the Mississippi in regions unknown and unexplored at the time the nation began its independent existence. All of the continent, from Maine to California, is now settled and civilized and organized into states and territories, with local governments in cities, towns, villages, and townships. The wilderness has been conquered and the nation has become rich.

In agriculture and manufacturing, in literature and art, in politics and government, in education and culture, in science and invention, it can be truly said that America has done wonderful things in her brief span of life. It is also true that Americans may still learn many things from the older civilizations of Europe. There is much progress yet to be made. Our great American civilization is probably only in its infancy. In a spirit of thankfulness for the past and confidence in the future, the citizens of our country might well join in Whittier's thanksgiving and prayer:

"Our Father's God! From out whose hand
The centuries fall like grains of sand,
We meet to-day, united, free,
And loyal to our land and Thee,
To thank Thee for the era done
And trust Thee for the opening one.

"For art and labor met in truce,
For beauty made the bride of use,
We thank Thee; but withal we crave
The austere virtues strong to save—
The honor proof to place or gold,
The manhood never bought or sold.

"O make Thou us through centuries long,
In peace secure, in justice strong;
Around our gift of freedom draw
The safeguards of our righteous law;
And, cast in some diviner mold,
Let the new cycle shame the old."

AN OUTLINE FOR THE ADDITIONAL STUDY OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In addition to the national government the American citizen is subject to several other kinds of government. In fact, he has much more to do with the government of his state, county, and city or town than with that of the nation.

The State Constitution. Each one of the forty-six states has a written constitution. This is called the fundamental law of the state, because all other laws are based upon it. An act passed by the legislature contrary to the constitution of the state would be null and void. No two of the state constitutions are exactly alike, yet they resemble one another in their main features. Every state constitution provides for the three great departments of government, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. It also provides for a system of local government.

Bill of Rights. Many of the constitutions contain a *Bill of Rights* setting forth certain rights of the people which must be held sacred; such as the right of the people to govern themselves, the right of trial by jury, the right to petition the government, the right of free speech and a free press, and the right to freedom of religious worship.

The Executive Department of a state is composed of the Governor and a long list of other officers. The most important duty of the Governor is to see that the laws of the state are enforced. The Lieutenant or Deputy Governor takes the place of the Governor when the latter is unable to attend to the duties of the office. The Secretary of State might be called the chief clerk for the state. He has charge of important state papers such as bills passed by the legislature. The Auditor is the book-keeper and accountant for the state. The Treasurer pays out money upon his order. The Treasurer is the custodian of the funds of the state and the Attorney-General is the state's lawyer. The Superintendent of Public Instruction is at the head of the state's

system of schools. He keeps statistics, publishes reports, and suggests methods whereby the educational system of the state may be improved. Many of the state constitutions provide for other important officers, boards, and commissions.

The State Legislature is composed of two houses and a bill must be passed by both and must usually be signed by the Governor before it becomes a law. The legislature has the power to pass practically any law which is not contrary to the constitution of the state, or to the Constitution, laws, or treaties of the United States. It consequently legislates upon a great variety of subjects. It fixes the boundaries of counties, townships, and congressional districts; it passes property laws relating to deeds, mortgages, and wills; it makes laws relating to voters, elections, public schools, health, marriage, and divorce; it grants charters to railroad companies, banks, colleges, and other institutions; it punishes murder, burglary, arson, forgery, perjury, and other crimes; and passes laws for the regulation of railroads, canals, telegraph, telephone, and insurance companies, and factories and mines. In fact the state touches the daily life of the citizen scores of times where the national government touches it once.

The Judicial power of the state is vested in a system of courts, the highest of which is usually called the *Supreme Court*, or *Court of Appeals*. This court decides, when a case is brought before it, whether a law is constitutional or not. It also decides *finally* all cases which are appealed to it from the lower courts.

Get a copy of the constitution of your state and make a list of the officers mentioned in it, together with their duties.

Was your state one of the original thirteen? If not, when was it admitted into the Union? What is the population of your state? Its area? Write a short essay upon your state, saying something of its history, its chief products, and the notable men and women whom it has produced.

What are the names of the houses which compose your legislature? How many members are there in each? How often does the legislature meet? What is the length of the session? Members of the English Parliament receive no salaries. How would such a plan do for our Congress and state legislatures? Why is it better to have two houses in a legisla-

ture rather than one? Find out what is meant by "lobbying." Who is to blame if good men are not sent to the legislature?

Who is the Governor of your state? How long is his term of office? Is he eligible to serve a second term? Does he have the veto power? How large a vote in the legislature is required to pass a bill over his veto? Has he the power to pardon criminals? Read the next message which the Governor of your state delivers.

Find out the names of the different courts of law in your state. Are the judges of these courts appointed or elected by the people? What is the term of office of the judges of the highest court? Why is the office of judge a very important one in a government like ours? Visit one of the courts in your neighborhood, and, if possible, the legislature of your state. Does your state have a factory inspection law? What are its provisions?

The County. Each state is divided into counties varying in number from three in Delaware to two hundred and forty-three in Texas. There is no uniformity among the counties either in respect to area or population. One county in Texas had only four inhabitants in 1900, while New York County, New York, had more than two million inhabitants in the same year.

County Officers. The state legislature as a rule has the power of dividing the state into counties. It also establishes the offices of the county and sets forth the duties of the officers. These officers are usually elected by the people for terms varying from two to six years.

County Boards. There is usually a county board of some kind which has general control of county affairs. Sometimes this board is called the Board of Supervisors, as in Michigan, and sometimes the Board of County Commissioners, as in Indiana. These county boards vary in size, and usually have charge of the finances and property of the county. In some states they have charge of roads and bridges and other public works. Sometimes the care of the poor is intrusted to them, and in some states they exercise a general supervision over other county officers.

The County Court. Most counties have a Judge, often called the Circuit Judge, who presides over the County Court in the trial

of civil and criminal cases. There is also a Probate Judge, who has charge of settling the estates of deceased persons.

Other County Officers. The county usually has a Sheriff, a Prosecuting Attorney, a Clerk of Court, an Auditor, a Treasurer, a Recorder, a School Commissioner, a Surveyor, and a Coroner.

The Sheriff is the peace officer of the county and has charge of the county jail. He or his deputy is present in the County Court and enforces law and order and carries out the orders of the Court.

The Prosecuting Attorney brings cases against violators of the law and sees that they are properly punished by fine or imprisonment.

The Clerk of Court, sometimes called the County Clerk, keeps the records of the Court and prepares various legal documents for the Judge.

The Recorder, called in some states the Register of Deeds, keeps copies of deeds, mortgages, and other legal papers on file in his office.

The Auditor is the bookkeeper for the county. The Treasurer has charge of the county funds, and pays out money upon order of the proper authority. The School Commissioner, sometimes called the County Superintendent of Schools, has general charge of school affairs not otherwise provided for. The Surveyor fixes property lines and surveys highways when requested to do so, and the Coroner holds inquests over the bodies of persons killed in a suspicious or peculiar way.

The County Seat. Every county has a city or town, usually centrally located, which is called the county seat. This place contains the court-house, the county jail, and frequently the poor-farm or asylum is located near by. The court-house is usually located in the center of the town and contains the court-rooms and the offices of the various county officials.

How many counties are there in your state? Find out if you can when your county was organized. What is its area? Its population? Make a

map of the county and locate the most important cities and villages. Make a list of the officers of the county and ascertain their principal duties. Are there any places of historic interest in your county? Write a brief essay upon your county, saying something of its history, industries, and leading men and women.

Townships. The county is usually divided into townships. In the eastern states these townships, or towns as they are called, are very irregular in size and shape; but in the West they are usually six miles square.

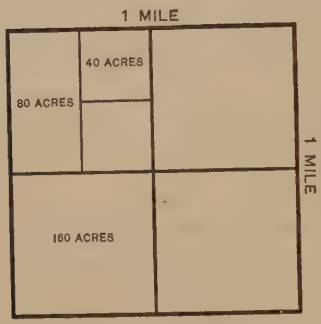


DIAGRAM OF A SQUARE MILE
(640 Acres of Land.)

A township, regularly laid out, contains thirty-six square miles, or sections. Many townships, however, are not regular in shape or uniform in size on account of rivers, mountains, and other natural boundary lines.

Township Officers. Each township has a set of officers to manage its affairs. The most important of these is the Supervisor or Township Trustee. This officer usually has some control over school matters, the care of the poor, and the highways. In some states he assesses property for the purpose of taxation. Townships also frequently have Justices of the Peace for the trial of unimportant cases. In the states of the far West, township government is not well organized.

The Village. The township frequently contains one or more villages. A village is a small compact settlement which, after being duly incorporated, has a government and a set of officers of its own. A settlement must have a certain number of inhabitants, usually varying from one hundred to three hundred, before it can be incorporated as a village. When a village grows to a certain size, varying in the different states from two thousand to ten thousand inhabitants, it is usually incorporated under a new form of government and called a city.

Village Officers. Officers of the village also obtain their authority from the legislature of the state. The governing

power is vested in a body usually called the board of trustees, or village council. This body is generally composed of from five to seven members. It is usually given the power to pass ordinances relating to the policing of the village, public health, sidewalks, street improvements, sewers, drains, fire protection, water-works systems, and lighting plants. In general it may be said that this board transacts the business of the village. It expends the village funds and has charge of the village property. It is presided over by a President, or Chairman, and its records are kept by the Village Clerk.

In addition to the above officers, there is usually a Treasurer and a police officer, known as the Constable, or Marshal. Often the village has a Street Commissioner and sometimes a Fire Chief.

Towns. The New England town corresponds to the western township. The town is the most important local unit in New England. The New England town sometimes contains several villages as well as a considerable country district. The town, like the western township, has its own officers, the most important of which are the Selectmen, the Town Clerk, the School Committee, and the Assessors.

The Selectmen have many important duties. They correspond to the board of trustees or the council of a village. They call the town meeting; they "lay out highways and drains; they grant licenses; they make arrangements for elections; and they have charge of town property." Sometimes they act as overseers of the poor, assessors, and health officers.

Town Meetings. There is an annual meeting of the voters of the town, at which officers are elected and matters of interest discussed. These debates are sometimes very spirited and have served as a splendid training in politics. Nothing fits a man so well for self-government as actual participation in governmental affairs.

The Town Clerk keeps the records of the meeting and has charge of the town papers. He issues marriage licenses, keeps a

record of births and deaths, and sometimes of deeds and mortgages.

Town Meetings in the West. Town meetings are also held in some of the states of the Middle West, but there is now almost no debating on these occasions. Although the township government of the West is derived from the town government of the East, there are now many differences between the two forms. Township government in the Middle West is less important at the present time than town government in New England. The cities and villages in the West are usually independent of the townships in which they are located. In New England the village is often a part of the town and has no separate government.

If you live in a village or a township, find out who your officers are. Try to attend a town meeting or a meeting of your village board. What is the rate of taxation in your township or village? Is this rate higher or lower than that of neighboring townships and villages? Try to find out the reason for the difference. How many townships are there in your county? Make a map of your township and locate the villages and cities which it contains.

The City. The city is simply a large village and is governed under a charter granted to it by the legislature of the state. Sometimes city government is uniform for all cities of about the same size in a state, but the legislature frequently grants special charters to large cities. The city officers then have such powers as are granted to them by the legislature of the state.

City Officers. The Mayor. The principal officer of an American city is usually called the Mayor. He is elected by the people to serve for a term of one to four years and his powers are defined in the city charter. He usually has power to veto ordinances passed by the City Council and also the power to appoint the heads of the various departments of the city government. Sometimes his appointments must be confirmed by the City Council, but in many cases this confirmation is not necessary. Many cities give the Mayor the absolute power of appointment and then hold him responsible for the government of the city. This plan has worked well.

The City Council. The City Council or Board of Aldermen is the legislative department of the city government. The councilmen are usually elected to represent the different wards of the city for terms of from one to four years. The City Council has the power to pass ordinances relating to certain matters set forth in the city charter.

Departments. The work of the city government is usually divided up among several different departments. Prominent among these are the police department, the fire department, and the department of public works, which usually has charge of the streets and parks. There is frequently a department of public health which enforces sanitary regulations and attempts to stamp out contagious diseases.

School Boards. The city also has a School Board, whose duty is to build and equip schoolhouses, employ teachers, and exercise general control over the educational interests of the city. In most cases the School Board employs a competent Superintendent, and then leaves school matters largely in his hands.

Voluntary Organizations. In addition to the departments usually provided for in the city charter there are a number of voluntary organizations. One of the most important of these is the Associated Charities. A number of public-spirited citizens band themselves together as a Charity Organization Society. This society, with the assistance of the churches and benevolent organizations, sees to it that the deserving poor people of the city are properly cared for. Impostors and other unworthy persons are denied assistance. Persons who are able to work are expected to do so, and employment is found for them through an agency known as an employment bureau. In short, the Charity Organization Society has done a splendid work in American cities and has helped many people to help themselves.

In conclusion it should be said that city government in the United States has not given satisfactory results. Many of our large cities, and some of the smaller ones as well, have not been

honestly and economically governed. This is due largely to the fact that good citizens have paid too little attention to city government. If honest men will not vote and hold office, but will allow vicious and dishonest persons to place themselves in important positions, good results can hardly be expected. The American citizen is now waking up to the fact that eternal vigilance is the price of good city government.

Get a copy of your city charter and make a list of the principal officers with their terms of office. How many members are there in your City Council? How many wards are there in your city? In which one do you live? What are the principal industries of your city? What qualifications should a good mayor possess? Who are your school officers? Are they elected or appointed? Have you an efficient fire department? Is there a board of public health in your city? What are its duties? Are the streets and alleys of your city kept clean? Is there a good system of garbage collection? Have the people of your neighborhood ever had a spring "cleaning day"? Are the back yards in your neighborhood well kept? Have you a school garden? Are the shade trees in your locality properly cared for? Are the laws relating to contagious diseases enforced? What improvements can you think of which would better the moral and sanitary conditions in your city? How could it be made more beautiful and attractive? Show how the carelessness of one family may menace the public health.

REFERENCES FOR ADDITIONAL READING

1. Forman, "Essentials in Civil Government."
2. Henderson, "The Social Spirit in America."
3. Robinson, "The Improvement of Towns and Cities."
4. Dunn, "The Community and The Citizen."

APPENDIX

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In Congress, July 4, 1776.

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of

people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass our People, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is in undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms : Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our Brittish brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States ; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved ; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire — JOSIAH BARTLETT, WM. WHIPPLE, MATTHEW THORNTON.

Massachusetts Bay — SAML. ADAMS, JOHN ADAMS, ROBT. TREAT PAINE, ELBRIDGE GERRY.

Rhode Island — STEP. HOPKINS, WILLIAM ELLERY.

Connecticut — ROGER SHERMAN, SAM'EL HUNTINGTON, WM. WILLIAMS, OLIVER WOLCOTT.

New York — WM. FLOYD, PHIL. LIVINGSTON, FRANS. LEWIS, LEWIS MORRIS.

New Jersey — Richd. Stockton, Jno. Witherspoon, Fras. Hopkinson, John Hart, Abra. Clark.

Pennsylvania — Robt. Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benja. Franklin, John Morton, Geo. Clymer, Jas. Smith, Geo. Taylor, James Wilson, Geo. Ross.

Delaware — Cæsar Rodney, Geo. Read, Tho. M'Kean.

Maryland — Samuel Chase, Wm. Paca, Thos. Stone, Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Virginia — George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Th. Jefferson, Benja. Harrison, Thos. Nelson, jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton.

North Carolina — Wm. Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn.

South Carolina — Edward Rutledge, Thos. Heyward, Junr., Thomas Lynch, Junr., Arthur Middleton.

Georgia — Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, Geo. Walton.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION I.

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II.

The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of

Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of *New Hampshire* shall be entitled to choose three, *Massachusetts* eight, *Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* one, *Connecticut* five, *New York* six, *New Jersey* four, *Pennsylvania* eight, *Delaware* one, *Maryland* six, *Virginia* ten, *North Carolina* five, *South Carolina* five, and *Georgia* three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore* in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.

The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.

Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceeding, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.

The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII.

All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the

names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post-offices and post-roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offenses against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.

The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

SECTION X.

No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with

another State or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I.

The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows :

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress ; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each ; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed ; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President ; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote ; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.] [1]

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of

[1] This clause of the Constitution has been amended. See twelfth article of the Amendments.

removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he may have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation :

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION II.

The President shall be Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States ; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur ; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law ; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III.

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient ; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper ; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers ; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.

The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I.

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.

The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority ; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls ; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction ; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party ; to controversies between two or more States ; between a State and citizens of another State ; between citizens of different States ; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury ; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed ; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.

Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.

The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION III.

New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular State.

SECTION IV.

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress, provided that no amendments which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

George Washington, President, and Deputy from VIRGINIA.

NEW HAMPSHIRE — John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

MASSACHUSETTS — Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.

CONNECTICUT — William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman.

NEW YORK — Alexander Hamilton.

NEW JERSEY — William Livingston, David Brearly, William Patterson, Jonathan Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA — Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.

DELAWARE — George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom.

MARYLAND — James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll.

VIRGINIA — John Blair, James Madison, Jr.

NORTH CAROLINA — William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson.

SOUTH CAROLINA — John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.

GEORGIA — William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Attest: William Jackson, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall

be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.

The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in

aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

The Federal Convention which framed the Constitution met at Philadelphia in May, 1787, and completed its work September 17. The number of delegates chosen to the convention was sixty-five; ten did not attend; sixteen declined signing the Constitution, or left the convention before it was ready to be signed; thirty-nine signed.

The States ratified the Constitution in the following order: —

Delaware	December 7, 1787	Maryland	April 28, 1788
Pennsylvania	December 12, 1787	South Carolina	May 23, 1788
New Jersey	December 18, 1787	New Hampshire	June 21, 1788
Georgia	January 2, 1788	Virginia	June 25, 1788
Connecticut	January 9, 1788	New York	July 26, 1788
Massachusetts	February 6, 1788	North Carolina . . .	November 21, 1789
		Rhode Island	May 29, 1790

The first ten amendments were proposed in 1789, and declared adopted in 1791.
The eleventh amendment was proposed in 1794, and declared adopted in 1798.
The twelfth amendment was proposed in 1803, and declared adopted in 1804.
The thirteenth amendment was proposed and adopted in 1865.
The fourteenth amendment was proposed in 1866, and adopted in 1868.
The fifteenth amendment was proposed in 1869, and adopted in 1870.

PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION

JANUARY 1, 1863

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation

Whereas, on the twenty second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following to wit:

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be, in good faith, represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States."

Now, therefore I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-chief, of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against [the] authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days, from the first day above mentioned,

order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, (except the Parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terrebonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the City of New Orleans) Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South-Carolina, North-Carolina, and Virginia, (except the forty eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth-City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk & Portsmouth); and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known, that such persons of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this first day of January, in the year
[L. S.] of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

TOPICAL OUTLINE FOR THE BLACKBOARD

Introduction — The Old World and the New

1. The Old World and the New.
2. The New World a continuation of the Old.
3. What learned people thought of the New World in the time of Columbus.
4. How ignorant people regarded it.
5. Work of the Northmen.
   a. Why of little value?

Chapter I — The Story of the Discoverers and Explorers

1. Trade between Europe and Asia.
   a. How the interest of Europe in Eastern trade was strengthened.
   b. Rival cities and their trade routes.
   c. The problem of the age: A water route to the Indies.
      1. Various attempts to solve this problem.
2. America discovered.
   a. The story of Columbus.
   b. Land and water claimed by him for Spain.
3. Further attempts made to find a route to the East.
4. The naming of America.
5. America proved a continent.
6. The Spaniards in the interior.
   a. Ponce de Leon.
   b. Narvaez.
   c. De Soto.
   d. Coronado.
      1. Aims and motives.
7. The early French explorers and what they accomplished.
8. John Cabot's exploration on the Atlantic coast.

Chapter II — The Indians

1. The people the white men found here.
   a. Characteristics.
   b. Conflicts inevitable between the Indians and the settlers.
2. Reminders of the Indians.

Chapter III — The Physical Features of North America

1. Influence of the physical features on the life of the people.
2. Compare and contrast Atlantic and Pacific coasts.
3. Routes of the explorers.
4. Importance of the water-ways.

Chapter IV — The Planting of the Colonies

1. The planting of the colonies.
2. Purposes of the early settlers.
3. When the settlers really identified themselves with the country.
4. Difficulties in colonization.
5. The way in which a colony was regarded by the mother country.
6. Inducements offered by the New World.
7. Permanent settlements of the Spaniards.
8. Early French colonies.
   - *a.* Champlain.
   - *b.* La Salle.
   - *c.* Motives of the French.
9. English seamen and explorers.
10. The Raleigh colonies.
11. Advantage of the organization of a company over individual effort.
12. English colonies under the control of the king.
13. The founding of Jamestown.
    - *a.* Early difficulties.
    - *b.* How the colony was saved.
      1. Laws made and enforced.
      2. Workingmen and their families in the colony.
      3. Cultivation of tobacco.
      4. Ownership of land.
      5. Representative government.
    - *c.* Relation to the Indians.
    - *d.* The beginning of slavery.
    - *e.* The character the Cavaliers gave to life in Virginia.
    - *f.* Education.
14. Explorations of Henry Hudson.
15. Purpose of the "Patroon System."
16. Early Dutch forts.
17. Character of the rule of the Dutch governors.
    - *a.* Account for the colonists' attitude toward them.
18. The English conquest.
    - *a.* Changes made.
19. New England settlements.
20. Story of the "Pilgrim Fathers."

21. Religious toleration.
22. Hardships encountered.
23. Stanch leaders.
24. Massachusetts Bay Colony.
    a. The "Puritan Migration."
    b. Intolerance.
    c. Regard for education.
25. New Hampshire and Maine.
26. Connecticut.
    a. Reason for the migration to Connecticut.
    b. Form of government.
27. Rhode Island.
    a. Its founder.
28. The New England Confederacy.
    a. Of what composed?
    b. Purpose.
    c. Results.
29. Maryland.
    a. Religious toleration.
30. The Carolinas.
31. New Jersey.
32. Pennsylvania.
    a. Story of William Penn.
    b. Dealing with the Indians.
    c. Liberal policy of government.
    d. Prosperity of the colony.
33. Georgia.
    a. Oglethorpe's benevolent aims.
    b. How Georgia at length fell to the Crown.

Chapter V — The Beginnings of Union Among the English Colonies

1. The beginning of union among the English colonies.
    a. Interests in common.
2. Early spirit of independence.
    a. Instances showing this spirit.
    b. Attempts of the British to curb this spirit.
    c. Contests of the colonists with the royal governors.
        1. Illustrations. To what did these contests point?
3. People of England were also having a struggle at home to maintain their rights.
4. Plans of union.
    a. Common dangers served to unite them.
    b. Franklin's plan.
    c. Why a failure?

5. The Westward movement.
   a. Causes leading to.
   b. Importance of.

Chapter VI — France and Great Britain Fight for the New World

1. Claims of France to North America.
   a. These claims defended by forts.
2. Claims of England to North America.
3. Struggle for the possession of the great valleys.
4. The expedition of Washington.
5. England's plan of campaign.
6. William Pitt, the war minister.
7. Defeat of Braddock.
8. Fall of Louisburg.
9. Fort Duquesne captured.
10. Quebec lost to the French.
11. Treaty of peace, 1763.
    a. What the treaty settled.

Chapter VII — Colonial Government and Colonial Life

1. Colonial government.
   a. Relation to the English government.
2. Kinds of colonies.
3. Local government.
   a. Three forms.
4. Colonial times.
   a. Country and city life.
   b. Means of transportation.
   c. Occupations.
   d. Education.
   e. Religion.
   f. Slavery.

Chapter VIII — The Causes of the American Revolution

1. The British in America.
2. The English government.
   a. Representation in England not fair.
3. Attitude of George III toward the colonies in America.
   a. Navigation Laws.
   b. Writs of Assistance.
   c. The Quartering Act.
   d. The Stamp Act.
      a. Reasons for.

4. Protests of the colonists.
   a. Reasons for them.
   b. Prominent leaders.
   c. The Stamp Act Congress.
   d. Results of the stand taken by the Americans.
5. The Townshend Acts.
   a. How they were met.
6. The tea tax and the "Boston Tea Party."
7. Policy of coercion.
8. Intolerable measures.
9. Preparations for resisting through:
   a. Committees of Correspondence.
   b. First Continental Congress.
   c. Second Continental Congress.
10. Lexington and Concord.
11. Bunker Hill.
12. Washington takes command.

Chapter IX — The Declaration of Independence

1. At first no attempt made to separate from Great Britain.
2. Growth of the feeling for independence.
3. Sympathy for our cause in England.
4. Causes leading to independence.
5. Declaration of Independence.
   a. Political principles.

Chapter X — The War for Independence

1. Why the British left the New England States.
2. Struggle for the control of New York.
3. Washington's retreat to Trenton.
4. The people and army disheartened.
   a. Relief afforded by Robert Morris.
   b. New hope given the country by the victories of Trenton and Princeton.
5. Gloomy period of the Revolution.
   a. Defeats at Brandywine and Germantown.
   b. The winter at Valley Forge.
   c. The "Conway Cabal."
6. The invasion of Burgoyne.
   a. Events leading to his defeat and surrender.
   b. Results.
      1. Efforts on the part of England for peace.
      2. The French Alliance.
      3. Philadelphia evacuated by the British.
7. Campaigns in the north, 1778–1779.

8. Our navy.
9. Arnold — a patriot and a traitor.
10. Struggle for the West.
    a. George Rogers Clark.
11. The war in the south.
    a. How characterized?
    b. Greene's generalship.
    c. Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.
12. Treaty of peace.
    a. Terms.
13. Disbandment of army and retirement of Washington to Mt. Vernon.

Chapter XI — The Old Confederation and Its Failure

1. Continuance of the old difficulty about government.
    a. Continental Congress an "advising body."
2. What had led the colonists to unite?
3. The people governed by the states.
    a. Provisions of the State Constitutions.
4. Formation of the Articles of Confederation.
    a. Delay because of disputed claims to western lands.
    b. Defects in the Articles.
        1. Examples showing these weaknesses.
5. The need of Congress.
6. The Northwest Territory.
    a. Ordinance of 1787.
        1. Provisions.

Chapter XII — Making the Constitution

1. The occasion for calling a Federal Convention.
2. Leaders in the Convention.
3. Questions that faced the delegates.
4. Necessity for compromise.
    a. The compromises.
5. The ratification of the Constitution.

Chapter XIII — The New Government

1. Provisions of the new Constitution.
    a. Three departments of government.
        1. Executive.
        2. Legislative.
        3. Judicial.
    b. New powers, new allegiance, new citizenship.
    c. Relation to the states.

2. The President.
   a. Qualifications.
   b. Powers.
   c. How elected?
   d. The Cabinet.
   e. The veto.
3. The Senate and its powers.
4. The House of Representatives.
   a. Qualifications.
   b. The Speaker.
   c. How laws are made.
   d. War powers.
5. The Judiciary.
   a. Extent of power.
   b. Importance of the Supreme Court.
6. Amendments to the Constitution.
   a. Necessity for.

Chapter XIV — The New Government in Operation

1. The new government in operation.
2. Washington's journey and inauguration.
3. The President's Cabinet.
4. Chief Justice.
5. Ministers and consuls.
6. Hamilton's plan for raising money.
7. Washington — the site of the new capital.
8. Beginning of political parties.
9. *a*. How they differed.
   Our foreign policy.
   a. Proclamation of neutrality.
   b. The Jay Treaty.
10. John Adams.
    a. Something of his life and the principles for which he stood.
11. Influence of the French Revolution upon America.
12. Alien and Sedition Laws.
    a. Where and why unpopular?

Chapter XV — Jefferson and the Old Republican Party

1. Thomas Jefferson and his party.
2. Jefferson's message to Congress.
3. War with the Barbary States.
4. The Louisiana Purchase.
   a. Results.
5. Jefferson's foreign policy.

Chapter XVI — Madison and the War of 1812

1. James Madison and the War of 1812.
2. Causes leading to the War of 1812.
3. Successes of the American navy.
   a. The *Constitution* and the *Guerrière.*
   b. Perry's victory on Lake Erie.
4. Invasion of Canada.
5. Washington burned.
6. Baltimore attacked.
7. Jackson's victory at New Orleans.
8. Unpopularity of the war.
   a. The Hartford Convention.
9. Results of the war.

Chapter XVII — Monroe and the Era of Good Feeling

1. James Monroe.
2. Coast line extended by the purchase of Florida.
3. The "Monroe Doctrine."
   a. Occasion for.
   b. Effect.
4. The "nation's guest," LaFayette.

Chapter XVIII — John Quincy Adams and The Westward Movement

1. John Quincy Adams and the "Westward Movement."
2. Internal improvements.
   a. The Erie Canal.
3. The tariff.
   a. Division of the country because of it.
   b. Protest of the South.
4. Election of Andrew Jackson.

Chapter XIX — The Industrial Development of the New Nation

1. Industrial progress.
2. Agriculture.
3. Labor-saving machinery.
4. Value of patents in protecting inventors.
5. The steam engine.
6. Manufacturing.
   a. Progress made through inventions.
   b. Difficulty in securing inventions.
   c. Cotton manufacturing.
      1. Cotton culture and cotton mills.
      2. Renewed demand for slave labor.

d. Wool manufacturing.
e. Iron manufacturing.
f. Labor-saving devices.
7. Use of anthracite coal.
8. Commerce.
9. Ship-building.
10. Westward emigration.
a. Exploration of the West.
1. Lewis and Clark.
2. Pike's expedition.
3. Settlements in the West.
4. Trade with the East.
11. Evolution of transportation.
a. Indian trail.
b. River.
c. Road and canal.
d. Steamboat.
12. The Erie Canal.
13. Literary progress.
14. General advance of the country.

Chapter XX — Jackson and the Democratic Party

1. The "Spoils' System."
a. Evils.
b. What reform did it make necessary?
2. Nullification and the tariff.
a. Divided opinions.
b. The great debate.
c. Trouble averted through Clay's Compromise.
3. Financial condition of the country.
a. Unwise speculation.
b. Panic of 1837.

Chapter XXI — Slavery and the Missouri Struggle

1. How the Constitution sanctioned (or protected) slavery.
2. Invention of the cotton gin and its bearing upon the slave question.
3. Mason and Dixon's Line.
4. The Northwest Territory in relation to slavery.
5. Louisiana Territory open to slavery.
6. Balance of slave and free states.
7. Missouri — the pivot state.
a. Missouri Compromise.
1. Conditions.
2. Results.

Chapter XXII — The Abolition Movement

1. The Abolition movement.
2. Formation of Abolition societies.
   a. Leaders.
   b. Opposition of the South.
      1. Instances.
   c. Attitude of the North.
      1. Manifestations of this attitude.
3. Division among the Abolitionists.
   a. What each faction believed.
4. Of what was the Abolition movement a beginning?

Chapter XXIII — Slavery Extension, Texas, Oregon, and the Mexican War

1. Early settlement and history of Texas.
2. Why the settlers wished separation from Mexico.
3. Struggle for independence.
4. Texas — a republic.
5. What the Texans would gain by annexation to the Union.
6. Disputed point between Texas and Mexico.
7. Why the North opposed and the South urged the annexation.
8. Texas annexed.
9. The Mexican War.
   a. Immediate cause.
   b. Remote cause.
10. What the war settled.
11. New problems in regard to slavery.

Chapter XXIV — The Compromise of 1850

1. Efforts of the North and the South to maintain supremacy in the territory gained from Mexico.
2. The Wilmot Proviso.
3. Free Soilers.
4. Discovery of gold in California.
   a. Controversy between North and South over the admission of California as a state.
   b. Leaders on each side.
5. The Compromise of 1850.
6. Attempts to evade the new Fugitive Slave Law.
   a. Personal Liberty Bills.
   b. The Underground Railway.
7. "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

Chapter XXV — Repeal of the Missouri Compromise

1. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill.
2. Effect of the Kansas-Nebraska Action.
   a. Slavery in the territories.
   b. Political parties.
   c. The struggle for Kansas.
3. The Dred Scott decision.
   a. What the decision meant.
4. The Lincoln-Douglas debate.
   a. Effect.
5. John Brown's raid.
   a. Increased bitterness in the South.
6. The election of 1860.

Chapter XXVI — How the Civil War Came On

1. What Lincoln's election meant to the South.
2. Formation of the Southern Confederacy.
3. Attempts to reconcile the South.
4. Lincoln's real attitude toward slavery and the South.
5. Initial movement of the war.
6. The principles for which the North fought.
7. Principles upheld by the South.

Chapter XXVII — The First Two Years of the War, 1861–1863

1. Response to Lincoln's call for troops.
2. Relative strength of the two sections.
3. Effect of the battle of Bull Run.
4. The navy and the blockade.
   a. The *Monitor* and the *Merrimac.*
   b. The *Trent Affair.*
5. Plan of the Union army in the West.
6. Action of the Border States.
   a. Influence of the rivers in holding these states.
7. Victory at New Orleans.
8. Bragg's invasion of Kentucky and Tennessee.
9. The Peninsular Campaign.
10. Lee's first invasion of the North.
    a. Antietam.
11. The Emancipation Proclamation.
    a. A war measure.
    b. What loss was sustained because of it?
    c. What was gained by it?

Chapter XXVIII — The Last Two Years of the War, 1863–1865

1. Lee's second invasion of the North.
   a. The battle of Gettysburg, the turning-point of the Civil War.
   b. Lincoln's speech at Gettysburg, November 19, 1863.
2. Grant and Rosecrans in the West.
   a. The capture of Vicksburg.
3. Campaign in Tennessee.
   a. Chickamauga, Chattanooga, Lookout Mountain.
4. Interest centers about Richmond.
   a. Attempts by Early to divert the threatened attack on Richmond.
   b. Sheridan's Ride.
5. Evidences in the North of the unpopularity of the war.
   a. General McClellan nominated for President by the Democrats.
6. Lincoln reëlected.
7. The fall of Atlanta.
8. Sherman's march to the sea.
9. Naval operations.
   a. Farragut in Mobile Bay.
   b. The fate of the *Alabama*.
10. The end of the war.
    a. Surrender of Lee.
11. Assassination of Lincoln.
12. Cost of the war.
13. Results of the war.

Chapter XXIX — Social and Industrial Progress from 1829–1865

1. Area, population, and wealth.
2. Immigration.
   a. How immigrants have helped to make America.
3. Canals and inland navigation.
4. Growth in railroads.
5. Samuel F. B. Morse and the electric telegraph.
6. Newspapers and the postage rate.
7. Improvement in schools and in educational methods.
8. A high standard (or level) of literature reached.
9. Modern machinery.
10. The plantation system of labor.
11. How agricultural colleges have increased the wealth and prosperity of the country.
12. Help rendered American citizens by the Homestead Act.
13. Important discoveries.
    a. Vulcanized rubber.
    b. Photography.
    c. Anæsthesia.

14. Boundaries and occupations.
15. Physical and economic union.

Chapter XXX — The Period of Reconstruction, 1865–1877

1. Andrew Johnson — President.
2. Reconstruction of the seceded states.
   a. The President's plan.
   b. Why opposed by Congress?
3. Opposition of Congress to the President.
4. The Freedman's Bureau Bill and Civil Rights Bill passed by Congress.
5. The Congressional plan of reconstruction.
   a. Reconstruction Acts.
6. President Johnson impeached.
7. Grant and Colfax elected.
8. Adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment.
9. Negro rule in the South.
   a. Abuses to which it led.
10. Corruption in politics.
11. Financial conditions.
12. Contested election of 1876.
   a. The Electoral Commission.

Chapter XXXI — The United Nation, 1877–1910

1. The new South.
2. Character of the administration of Hayes.
   a. Conciliatory treatment of the South.
   b. Efficient cabinet members.
3. Resumption of specie payment.
4. Election of 1880.
5. Reform of the Civil Service.
6. Important legislation in Cleveland's administration.
   a. Presidential Succession Law.
   b. Interstate Commerce Commission.
7. Australian Ballot.
8. Harrison's administration.
9. New laws regarding the tariff.
10. Cleveland reëlected.
11. Venezuela and the Monroe Doctrine.
12. The election of 1896.
13. Money problems.
14. Cause of the Spanish-American War.
15. Important events of the war.
16. Results.

17. New responsibilities assumed by the U. S. in —
    a. Guardianship of Cuba.
    b. Annexation of Hawaii.
    c. Control of the Philippines.
18. McKinley and Roosevelt.
19. Self-government in Cuba.
20. Panama Canal.
21. Revolt in Cuba.
22. Taft elected president.
23. Tariff revision.
24. Reciprocity with Canada.
25. Arbitration treaties.

Chapter XXXII — Industrial Development Since the Civil War

1. Progress made by the United States since the Civil War.
2. American machines used all over the world.
3. Reasons for advance.
4. Various ways in which progress is shown.
5. Conservation of the resources of the United States.
6. Improved methods of communication and transportation.
7. Labor problems.
8. Labor unions.
9. Exhibitions.
10. Future of industrial development.

Chapter XXXIII — Present Day Government

1. Duties of American citizens.
2. Qualities that make for citizenship.
3. Political parties.
    a. Conventions.
    b. Platforms.
    c. Primary elections.
    d. Importance of fair elections.
4. Ways in which patriotism and good citizenship will manifest themselves.
5. Problems that face the citizen.

DATES OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

1492 Columbus discovers America (p. 17).

1497 Cabot discovers the continent of North America (p. 21).

1507 Naming of America (p. 21).

1519–1522 Magellan sailed around the World (p. 22).

1607 Permanent English Colonization of Virginia (p. 47).

1609 Hudson anchored in New York Harbor (p. 57).

1619 Introduction of Slavery (p. 54).

1620 The Pilgrims settle Plymouth (p. 61).

1630 The Puritans settle Boston (p. 66).

1643–1684 New England Confederation (p. 70).

1649 Religious Toleration in Maryland (p. 71).

1664 Capture of New Netherland by the English (p. 60).

1682 William Penn came to America (p. 75).

1706 Benjamin Franklin was born in Boston (p. 83).

1716 Westward movement began in Virginia (p. 86).

1732 George Washington born in Virginia (p. 90).

1760 George III came to the throne (p. 117).

1763 Treaty of Peace with France (p. 99).

1765 The Stamp Act (p. 120).

1774 First Continental Congress (p. 125).

1775 Lexington and Concord (p. 129).

1775 Battle of Bunker Hill (p. 131).

1776 Declaration of Independence (p. 138).

1777 Burgoyne's Surrender (p. 150).

1779 George Rogers Clark gave America Military possession of the Northwest (p. 158).

1781 The British surrender at Yorktown (p. 160).

1781 Articles of Confederation (p. 168).

1783 Treaty of Peace (p. 161).

1787 Ordinance for the Northwest Territory (p. 172).

1787 Constitutional Convention(p.174).

1788 The Constitution Ratified (p. 179).

1789 The Constitution goes into operation (p. 200).

1789 Washington Inaugurated as President (p. 201).

1793 Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality (p. 209).

1793 Invention of the Cotton gin (p. 260).

1795 Jay's Treaty (p. 210).

1796 Washington's Farewell Address (p. 211).

1799 Washington died (p. 215).

1801 Jefferson becomes President, Fall of Federalists (p. 219).

1803 Purchase of Louisiana (p. 222).

1807 The First Steamboat (p. 270).

1809 Abraham Lincoln born in Kentucky (p. 334).

1812 War with England (p. 233).

1814 The Hartford Convention (p. 239).

1819 Purchase of Florida (p. 245).

1820 The Missouri Compromise (p. 290).

1823 The Monroe Doctrine (p. 245).

1825 The Erie Canal opened (p. 253).

1829 Jackson becomes President (p. 277.)

1832 Jackson vetoes the United States Bank Bill (p. 284).

1832 Nullification in South Carolina (280).
1837 Great Financial Panic (p. 285).
1844 First Telegraph Line opened (p. 380).
1845 Annexation of Texas (p. 305).
1846–1848 The Mexican War (p. 307).
1848 Discovery of Gold in California (p. 313).
1850 Compromise on Slavery (p. 316).
1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act (p. 320).
1857 The Dred Scott Case (p. 324).
1858 Lincoln-Douglas Debate (p. 326).
1859 John Brown's Raid (p. 328.)
1861 Lincoln becomes President.
1861 The Civil War begins (p. 331).
1862 Battle of Shiloh (p. 345).
1863 Emancipation Proclamation (p. 350).
1863 Battle of Gettysburg (p. 356).
1864 Sherman's March to the Sea.
1865 Civil War Ends — Appomattox (p. 367).
1866 Atlantic Cable laid (p. 442).
1867 Reconstruction Acts (p. 395).
1869 First Railway to the Pacific (p. 440).
1879 Specie Payment Resumed (p. 405).
1883 Civil Service Reform (p. 407).
1898 War with Spain (p. 414).
1898 Annexation of Hawaiian Islands (p. 419).
1904 The Panama Canal begun (p. 420).
1908–1909 Cruise of American Fleet around the World (p. 422).

NO.	PRESIDENT	STATE	BORN	DIED	TERM OF OFFICE	ELECTED BY	VICE PRESIDENT	STATE
1	George Washington	Virginia	1732	1799	Two terms; 1789–1797	Whole people	John Adams	Massachusetts
2	John Adams	Massachusetts	1735	1826	One term; 1797–1801	Federalists	Thomas Jefferson	Virginia
3	Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	1743	1826	Two terms; 1801–1809	House of Rep. Republicans	Aaron Burr George Clinton	New York New York
4	James Madison	Virginia	1751	1836	Two terms; 1809–1817	Republicans	George Clinton Elbridge Gerry	New York Massachusetts
5	James Monroe	Virginia	1758	1831	Two terms; 1817–1825	Republicans	Daniel D. Tompkins	New York
6	John Quincy Adams	Massachusetts	1767	1848	One term; 1825–1829	House of Rep.	John C. Calhoun	South Carolina
7	Andrew Jackson	Tennessee	1767	1845	Two terms; 1829–1837	Democrats	John C. Calhoun Martin Van Buren	South Carolina New York
8	Martin Van Buren	New York	1782	1862	One term; 1837–1841	Democrats	Richard M. Johnson	Kentucky
9	William H. Harrison	Ohio	1773	1841	One month; 1841	Whigs	John Tyler	Virginia
10	John Tyler	Virginia	1790	1862	3 yrs. and 11 mos.; 1841–1845	Whigs.		
11	James K. Polk	Tennessee	1795	1849	One term; 1845–1849	Democrats	George M. Dallas	Pennsylvania
12	Zachary Taylor	Louisiana	1784	1850	1 yr. and 4 mos.; 1849–1850	Whigs	Millard Fillmore	New York
13	Millard Fillmore	New York	1800	1874	2 yrs. and 8 mos.; 1850–1853	Whigs.		
14	Franklin Pierce	New Hampshire	1804	1869	One term; 1853–1857	Democrats	William R. King	Alabama
15	James Buchanan	Pennsylvania	1791	1868	One term; 1857–1861	Democrats	John C. Breckinridge	Kentucky
16	Abraham Lincoln	Illinois	1809	1865	1 term and 1 mo.; 1861–1865	Republicans	Hannibal Hamlin Andrew Johnson	Maine Tennessee
17	Andrew Johnson	Tennessee	1808	1875	3 yrs. and 11 mos.; 1865–1869	Republicans		
18	Ulysses S. Grant	Illinois	1822	1885	Two terms; 1869–1877	Republicans	Schuyler Colfax Henry Wilson	Indiana Massachusetts
19	Rutherford B. Hayes	Ohio	1822	1893	One term; 1877–1881	Republicans	William A. Wheeler	New York
20	James A. Garfield	Ohio	1831	1881	6 months and 15 days; 1881	Republicans	Chester A. Arthur	New York
21	Chester A. Arthur	New York	1830	1886	3 yrs. 5 mos. 15 days; 1881–1885	Republicans		
22	Grover Cleveland	New York	1837	1908	First term; 1885–1889	Democrats	Thomas A. Hendricks	Indiana
23	Benjamin Harrison	Indiana	1833	1901	One term; 1889–1893	Republicans	Levi P. Morton	New York
24	Grover Cleveland	New York	1837	1908	Second term; 1893–1897	Democrats	Adlai E. Stevenson	Illinois
25	William McKinley	Ohio	1843	1901	1 term and 6 mos.; 1897–1901	Republicans	Garret A. Hobart Theodore Roosevelt	New Jersey New York
26	Theodore Roosevelt	New York	1858		1 term and 3 yrs. 5 mos. 18 days; 1901–1909	Republican	Charles W. Fairbanks	Indiana
27	William H. Taft	Ohio	1857			Republican	James S. Sherman	New York

STATE STATISTICS

States	Date of Admission	Area in Sq. Miles	Population in 1910
1. Delaware (The Thirteen Original States)		2,050	202,322
2. Pennsylvania		45,215	7,665,111
3. New Jersey		7,815	2,537,167
4. Georgia		59,475	2,609,121
5. Connecticut		4,990	1,114,756
6. Massachusetts		8,315	3,366,416
7. Maryland		12,210	1,295,346
8. South Carolina		30,570	1,515,400
9. New Hampshire		9,305	430,572
10. Virginia		42,450	2,061,612
11. New York		49,170	9,113,614
12. North Carolina		52,250	2,206,287
13. Rhode Island		1,250	542,610
14. Vermont admitted	March 4, 1791	9,565	355,956
15. Kentucky "	June 1, 1792	40,400	2,289,905
16. Tennessee "	June 1, 1796	42,050	2,184,789
17. Ohio "	Feb. 19, 1803	41,060	4,767,121
18. Louisiana "	April 8, 1812	48,720	1,656,388
19. Indiana "	Dec. 11, 1816	36,350	2,700,876
20. Mississippi "	Dec. 10, 1817	46,810	1,797,114
21. Illinois "	Dec. 3, 1818	56,650	5,638,591
22. Alabama "	Dec. 14, 1819	52,250	2,138,093
23. Maine "	March 15, 1820	33,040	742,371
24. Missouri "	Aug. 10, 1821	69,415	3,293,335
25. Arkansas "	June 15, 1836	53,850	1,574,449
26. Michigan "	Jan. 26, 1837	58,915	2,810,173
27. Florida "	March 3, 1845	58,680	751,139
28. Texas "	Dec. 29, 1845	265,780	3,896,542
29. Iowa "	Dec. 28, 1846	56,025	2,224,771
30. Wisconsin "	May 29, 1848	56,040	2,333,860
31. California "	Sept. 9, 1850	158,360	2,377,549
32. Minnesota "	May 11, 1858	83,365	2,075,708
33. Oregon "	Feb. 14, 1859	96,030	672,765
34. Kansas "	Jan. 29, 1861	82,080	1,690,949
35. West Virginia "	June 19, 1863	24,780	1,221,119
36. Nevada "	Oct. 31, 1864	110,700	81,875
37. Nebraska "	March 1, 1867	77,510	1,192,214
38. Colorado "	Aug. 1, 1876	103,925	799,024
39. North Dakota "	Nov. 3, 1889	70,795	577,056
40. So. Dakota "	Nov. 3, 1889	77,650	583,888
41. Montana "	Nov. 8, 1889	146,080	376,053
42. Washington "	Nov. 11, 1889	69,180	1,141,990
43. Idaho "	July 3, 1890	84,800	325,594
44. Wyoming "	July 10, 1890	97,890	145,965
45. Utah "	Jan. 4, 1896	84,970	373,351
46. Oklahoma "	Nov. 16, 1907	70,430	1,657,155
47. New Mexico "	Jan. 6, 1912	122,580	327,301
48. Arizona "	Feb. 14, 1912	113,020	204,354

TERRITORIES, ETC.

Alaska	577,390	64,356
District of Columbia	70	331,069
Hawaii	6,500	191,909
Philippines*	140,000	7,635,426
Porto Rico	3,600	1,118,012

* 1903

AREA OF THE UNITED STATES IN SQUARE MILES

Area in 1790	827,000
Area in 1910	3,750,000

The latter figures include all of the dependencies of the United States.

POPULATION OF CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES BY DECADES

1790	3,929,214
1800	5,308,483
1810	7,239,881
1820	9,638,453
1830	12,866,020
1840	17,069,453
1850	23,191,876
1860	31,443,321
1870	38,558,371
1880	50,155,783
1890	62,622,250
1900	75,477,467
1910	91,972,266

If the population of the Philippines and other island dependencies were added, the total population at the present time would be about 101,000,000.

CONGRESS AND THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

States	Senate	House Rep's	Electoral Vote	States	Senate	House Rep's	Electoral Vote
Alabama	2	10	12	Nevada	2	1	3
Arizona	2	1	3	New Hampshire	2	2	4
Arkansas	2	7	9	New Jersey	2	12	14
California	2	11	13	New Mexico	2	1	3
Colorado	2	4	6	New York	2	43	45
Connecticut	2	5	7	North Carolina	2	10	12
Delaware	2	1	3	North Dakota	2	3	5
Florida	2	4	6	Ohio	2	22	24
Georgia	2	12	14	Oklahoma	2	8	10
Idaho	2	2	4	Oregon	2	3	5
Illinois	2	27	29	Pennsylvania	2	36	38
Indiana	2	13	15	Rhode Island	2	3	5
Iowa	2	11	13	South Carolina	2	7	9
Kansas	2	8	10	South Dakota	2	3	5
Kentucky	2	11	13	Tennessee	2	10	12
Louisiana	2	8	10	Texas	2	18	20
Maine	2	4	6	Utah	2	2	4
Maryland	2	6	8	Vermont	2	2	4
Massachusetts	2	16	18	Virginia	2	10	12
Michigan	2	13	15	Washington	2	5	7
Minnesota	2	10	12	West Virginia	2	6	8
Mississippi	2	8	10	Wisconsin	2	11	13
Missouri	2	16	18	Wyoming	2	1	3
Montana	2	2	4				
Nebraska	2	6	8	Total	96	435	531

Two Territorial Delegates — one each from Alaska and Hawaii — sit in the House of Representatives. These delegates are permitted to speak, but not to vote.

INDEX

Abolition movement, 293–300.
Abolitionists, 392–300; opposition to, 295–298; divisions of, 299, 300, 304, 315.
Adams, Charles Francis, 367.
Adams, John, 118, 138, 160, 161; elected Vice-President, 200, 201, 207; elected President, 212; portrait, 212, 216–217.
Adams, John Quincy, 160, 217, 246; elected President, 247; administration of, 249–255; portrait, 249; 273, 280, 298.
Adams, Samuel, 124, 130.
Administration of Justice act, 128.
Africa, 11.
Age of Ignorance, 14.
Agricultural colleges, 387.
Agriculture, in colonies, 109–110; Secretary of, 187; 257, 385–387, 431; scientific agriculture, 431, 432.
Airship, Wright, 445.
Alabama, admitted, 289.
Alabama, the, 367.
Alamo, the, 301–303.
Alaska, 401.
Albany, 58, 60; plan of union, 86.
Albermarle Sound, 72.
Alcott, Bronson, 382.
Alderman, 463.
Alien act, 214.
Aliens, 197, 447.
Allen, Ethan, 132.
Alliance, the, 153.
Ambassadors of United States, 203.
Amendments to the Constitution, 195–196.
America, discovery of, 1, 2, 3, 4, 12–19; naming of, 21.
American Anti-slavery Society, 293.
American Citizenship, 449–458.
American Association, 129.
American Federation of Labor, 443.
American Revolution, causes, of 116–133.
Americus Vespucius, 21, 22.
Amherst, Gen., 96.
Anæsthesia, 388.
Anderson, Major, 336.
André, Major, 155, 156.
Andros, Sir Edmund, 82, 83.
Annapolis convention, 174.
Anne, Queen, 82.
Anthracite coal, 262.
Anti-Federalists, 207.
Anti-Nebraska Democrats, 321.
Antietam, battle of, 349, 351.
Anti-Slavery petitions, 298.
Appomattox, 367.
Arbitration, treaties, 424.
Area of U.S., 1829–1865, 375; I.
Arizona, admitted, 425.
Arnold, Benedict, 143, 150; treason of, 155, 156
Arthur, Chester A., 406, 407, 408.
Articles of Confederation, 168–169.
"Articles of Union," 168.
Associated charities, 464.
"Athens of Virginia," 243.
Atlanta, fall of, 362.
Atlantic cable, 442.
Atlantic fleet, return of, 442.
Atlantic Monthly, 384.
Atlantic Ocean, 3–4.
Atlantic and Pacific coasts, 38–40.
Attainder, bills of, 197.
Attorney General, the (1870), 187.
Auditor, county, 459.
Austin, Moses, 301.
Australian ballot, 410.

Bacon, Nathaniel, 83.
Bacon's Rebellion, 83.
Bahama Islands, 18.
Balboa, 24, 25.
Baltimore, attack on, 239.
Baltimore, Lord, 71.
Baltimore and Ohio railroad, 378.
Bank, first U. S., 206, 207, 208; second, 241, 284.
Bankrupt laws, 197.
Barbary pirates, 226.
Barry, Commodore John, 152.
"Battle above the clouds," 359.
Baum, Col., 150.
Beane, William, 157.
Beauregard, Gen., 336, 339, 353.
Beecher, Henry Ward, 423.
Belknap, Gen., 390.
Bemis Heights, 150.
Bennington, battle of, 150.
Bentonville, battle of, 366.
Bering, Vitus, 24.
Berkeley, Governor, 55, 83.
Bill of Rights, 167, 459.
Birney, James G., 296, 300, 304.
"Black Republican" Rule, 329.
Blaine, James G., 408.
Blennerhassett, 229.
Blockade, 226, 227; in Civil War, 340, 367.
Block House, 156.

Blockade runners, 340.
Bon Homme Richard, 154.
Boone, Daniel, 109, 157, 254.
Boonesboro, Ky., 157.
Booth, John Wilkes, 369.
"Border ruffians," 322.
Border states, 343.
"Bosses," 449.
Boston, settlement of, 66; evacuation of, 143
Boston Massacre, 125, 128.
Boston Port Bill, 127.
Boston tea-party, 125–126.
Bovay, A. E., 321.
Bowie, Col., 301.
Braddock, Gen., defeat of, 93–94.
Bradford, Governor, 65, 66.
Bragg, Gen., 347, 358.
Brandywine, battle of, 148.
Brant, Joseph, 152.
Breckinridge, John C., 239.
Bribery, 454, 455.
British America, 116.
British Empire, 116.
Brown, John, raid of, 328; 365.
Brown University, 70.
Bryan, William J., 412, 419, 422.
Bryant, William Cullen, 274, 275, 381, 382, 383.
Buchanan, James, 323–324; and secession, 332.
Buckner, Gen. Simon B., 353.
Buell, General, 345, 347.
Buena Vista, Battle of, 307.
Buffalo, 379, 380; exposition at, 446.
Buffalo hunting, 254.
Bull Run, battle of, 339; second battle, 349.
Bunker Hill, battle of, 131, 150.
Burgesses, house of, 53, 122.
Burgoyne's invasion and defeat, 149, 151.
Burke, Edmund, 134.
Burnside, Gen. A. E., 349, 350, 354.
Burr, Aaron, 216–127, 229.
Butler, Gen. B. F., 347, 350.
Butler, Senator, 323.
"Butternuts," 302.

Cable, Atlantic, 443.
Cabinet, the president's, 186; Washington's 202.
Cabot, John, 21, 89.
Calhoun, John C., 232, 255, 278, 280; portrait 281, 306, 315.
California, 307, 312–313; admitted, 317.
Calvert, George and Cecil, 71.
Cambridge, Mass., 67.
Camden, battle of, 159.
Canada, 99; invasion of, 143; in War of 1812, 237.
Canal, Panama, 419, 420, 425, 447 448.
Canals, 273, 376. *See also* Erie canal.
Cape of Good Hope, 2, 11, 22.
Capital, federal, location of, 206, 219.
Capitol at Washington, 182; burned, 239.
Carnegie, Andrew, 426.
Carpenters' Hall, 127.
Carolinas, the, 72, 73.
"Carpet-baggers," 397.
Carroll, Charles, 273.
Cartier, Jacques, 27, 28, 29.
Cass, Lewis, 313.
Cavaliers in Virginia, 56.
Cedar Creek, 361.
Cemetery Ridge, 357.
Census, 423.
Centennial Exposition, 1876, 445.
Cerro Gordo, 309.
Cervera, Admiral, 416.
Chambersburg, 360.
Champlain, Lake, 93; 237.
Champlain, Samuel de, 44, 45.
Chancellorsville, battle of, 355.
Channing, William Ellery, 297.
Chapultepec, 309.
Charles I, 56, 66.
Charleston, S. C., 72, 159, 160.
Chase, Salmon P., 351, 396.
Chatham, Lord. *See* William Pitt.
Chattanooga, 345, 347, 358.
Cherbourg, France, 367.
Cherry Valley, 152.
Cherubusco, 309.
Chesapeake affair, the, 227.
Chesapeake and *Shannon*, 236.
Chicago, 47, 268; about 1830, 287; 380; World's Fair, 446.
Chickamauga, battle of, 358.
Chief Justice, 203.
Choate, Rufus, 319.
Cincinnati, 268.
Cities, early, 108; government of, 466.
Citizens, definition of, 450.
City, the, 466; officers, 466; council, 467; department, 467; school boards, 467; voluntary organizations, 447.
Citizenship, 450, 459.
Civil Rights Bill, 392, 393.
Civil service reform; 403, 407.
Civil War, 331–374; northern and southern reasons for, 336–337; strength of North and South in, 338–339; beginnings of 338; map, 1861–1865, 356; opposition to 361; cost of, 371–372; results of, 373.
Clark, George Rogers, and the Northwest, 157, 158.
Clay, Henry, 232, 241, 247, 255, 256, 278, 283, 304, 316, 321.
Clerk, county, 463; town, 465.
Clermont, the, 270, 271.
Cleveland, Grover, elected President, 408; portrait, 408; 410; second election, 412.
Clinton, General, 151, 160.
Clinton, De Witt, 252.
Clinton, George, 179, 200.
Coal, 262.
Coercion, British policy of, 127.
Cold Harbor, 360.
Colonial government, 102–115.
Colonial life, 105–115.

Colonies, planting of, 42–79; kinds of, 103; local government, 103–105; policy of coercion, 127.
Colonization Society, 293.
Colony, explanation of, 42–43.
Columbia, District of, 219.
Columbia river, 266, 304.
Columbus, Bartholomew, 18.
Columbus, Christopher, discovery of New World, 1; map of the world in time of, 2, 3, 4; voyages, 12–19; flagship, *Santa Maria*, 14; about to sail, 15; discovering new world, 16; landing of, 17; founds colony, 18; journey home, 18; three other voyages, 19; discoveries of, 19; death of, 19; 24.
Commerce, colonial, 110; under Confederation, 170, 263, 273.
Commerce and labor, secretary of, 187.
Committee on Rules, 192.
Committee of Safety, 167.
Committees of Correspondence, 128.
"Common Sense," 137.
Compromises of the Constitution, 176–178; on the tariff, 284; of 1815, 311–317; of 1850, 311; on Slavery, 289–292; 314–317.
Concord, battle of, 131.
"Concord school," 382.
Conestoga wagon, 268.
Confederacy, southern formation, 331.
Confederate generals, 353.
Confederate government, 177.
Confederation, the New England of 1643, 70, 84; of 1781, 165–172; how formed, 168; articles of, 168–169; defects of, 169–171, 181.
Confiscation act, 350.
Congress, of the old Confederation, 169–172; insult to, 171; of the U. S., 187–192; powers of, 192
Congressional caucus, 279.
Connecticut, 66–68.
Constitution and *Guerrière*, 235.
Constitution of the United States, making of, 174–170; compromises of, 176–178; ratifying, 178–179; signing, 178; celebrating the adoption of, 179; provisions of, 181–198; the state, 459.
Constitutions, early state, 167.
Construction, "loose" and "strict," 207, 208, 224.
Consuls of U. S., 203.
Continental army, 133; disbands, 162.
Continental Congress, first, 127–129; second, 132, 165, 166.
Continental money, 146, 170.
"Contraband," 350.
Conventions, nominating, 452; national, 452.
Conway Cabal, 149.
Cooper, James Fenimore, 274.
Cooper, Peter, 378.
"Copperheads," 362.
Corn planter, 386.
Corinth, Miss., 345.
Cornwallis, General, 148, 159; surrender 160, 161
Cornby, Lord, 82.
Coronado, 26, 27.
Cotton, 260–262.
Cotton gin, 260, 288.
County, the, 462; officers, 462; boards, 462; courts, 462; sheriff, 463; prosecuting attorney, 463; clerk, 463; recorder, 463; auditor, 463; seat, 463; townships, 464; officers, 464; village, 464.
County government, 462–464.
County system, 104, 105.
Court of Appeals, 460.
Cowpens, battle of, 159.
"Cradle of Liberty," the, 120.
Crawford, W. H., 247.
Credit, Mobilier, 399.
"*Crisis, The*," 146.
Crittenden, Compromise, 333.
Crockett, Davy, 301.
Cromwell, Oliver, 56, 83.
Crusades, 8, 9.
Cuba, 18, 414, 415, 418, 421.
Curtis, George William, 297, 406.

Da Gama, 2, 11, 12, 21.
Daguerre, 388.
Dairying, 435.
Dale, Sir Thomas, 53.
Dallas, battle of, 363.
Dark ages, 8.
Davis, 48.
Davis, Jefferson, 331; portrait, 333; 363.
"Deadlock," 290.
Deane, Silas, 151.
Declaration of Independence, 119, 134–141; committee on, 138; signing of, 139; political principles of, 140, 141; copy of, Appendix.
Declaration of Rights and Grievances, 123.
Declaratory Act, 123.
De Grasse, Admiral, 160.
Delaware, 74–77.
Delaware, Lord, 52.
Democratic party, 280.
Democratic-Republicans, 256.
D'Estaing, Admiral, 152, 159.
De Soto, 25, 26, 45.
Detroit, 157, 158; in 1820, 244; 268, 379.
Dewey, Commodore George, 416.
Diaz, Bartholomew, 2, 11.
Dinwiddie, Governor, 90, 91.
Dingley act, 411.
Discoverers, 7–29.
Discoveries, three important, 388.
Discovery of New World, 1, 17–18; prophecies of, 4–5.
District of Columbia, 219.
Dix, General, 333.
Donelson, battle, of 344.
Douglas, Stephen A., 320, 326–327.
Drake, Joseph Rodman, 275, 276.
Drake, Sir Francis, 48.

Dred Scott case, 324.
Dutch East India Company, 57.
Dutch West India Company, 59.

Early, Gen. Jubal, 360, 361.
Earth, size and shape, 2.
East Jersey, 73.
East, tales of the, 7; and Crusades, 8; trade routes to, 9, 10, 11; products of, 9.
East India Company, 125.
Edison, Thomas A., 431.
Education, in colonies, 114, 381.
Edward, the, 153.
Election of, 1796, 212; of 1800, 216; of 1804, 228; of 1808, 229; of 1812, 242; of 1816, 242; of 1824, 247; of 1828, 255; of 1836, 285; of 1840, 285; of 1844, 303, 304; of 1848, 312; of 1852, 317; of 1856, 323; of 1860, 329; of 1864, 362; of 1868, 396; of 1872, 399; of 1876, 401; of 1880, 406; of 1884, 408; of 1888, 410; of 1892, 412; of 1896, 314; of 1900, 419; of 1904, 420; of 1908, 422.
Elections, purity of, 453.
Electoral College, 185; unwritten law of, 186; first, 200.
Electoral commission, 401.
Electors, 185, 228, 229.
Electric railroads, 442.
Electric telegraph, 380.
Electric transportation, 442.
Electricity, 443; *See also* Telegraph, Wireless.
Elizabeth, Queen, 48.
Emancipation Proclamation, 350–352.
Embargo act, 227, 232.
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 379, 382, 383.
Employers' Associations, 445.
Endicott, John, 66.
English, William H., 406.
English colonies, 47–50; the first, 51; beginnings of union, 80; in 1700 (map), 80; plans of union, 84; claims in America, 89; government, 117.
"Equilibrium." 288, 315.
"Era of good feeling," 243.
Ericson, Leif, statue and sketch of, 5.
Ericson, John, 341.
Erie, 89.
Erie Canal, 252–253; map, 252; 273.
"Erie War," 380.
European possessions, 1763, 100.
Eutaw Springs, 160.
Evarts, William M., 405.
Executive Department, 460.
Exhibitions, 445–446.
Ex post facto laws, 197.
Explorers, 7–29; routes of, 40.

Faneuil Hall, 120, 297.
Farm tools of 1790, 257.
Farragut, Admiral, 346; in Mobile Bay, 366.
Federalist, The, 178.
Federalists, 200, 207, 208, 209, 214, 215, 244.
Federation of Labor, 444.
Ferdinand and Isabella, 13–14.
Field, Cyrus W., 443.
Fifteenth amendment, 397.
"Fifty-four-forty or fight," 304.
Filipino rebellion, 417.
Finances in Revolution, 146, 147.
Fisheries, 436.
Five intolerable measures, 127.
Flag, first national, 150.
Fleet, Atlantic, return of, 422.
Florida, discovery of, 24, 25; surrendered to England by Spain, 99; purchase of, 245; admitted, 314.
Flour mills, 433.
Foote, Commodore, 344.
Forbes, General, 96.
Force Bill, of 1833, 284; of 1870, 398.
Forests, 436
Fort Cumberland, 94.
Fort Dearborn, 268.
Fort Donelson, 344–345.
Fort Duquesne, 92–94, 96, 97.
Fort Henry, 344.
Fort Le Boeuf, 90.
Fort McHenry, 239.
Fort Moultrie, 159.
Fort Nassau, 59.
Fort Necessity, 92.
Fort Orange, 58, 60.
Fort Pillow, 346.
Fort Stanwix, 149.
Fort Sumter, bombarded, 335.
Fort Ticonderoga, 95, 150.
Fort Washington, 145.
Fort William Henry, 95.
"Forty-niner, a," 313.
Fourteenth amendment, 373, 393, 394.
Fox, Charles J., 134.
Fox, George, 74.
France, claims in America, 89; struggle with Great Britain for control of America, 89–99.
Franklin, Benjamin, early life, 83; printing press, 84; plan on union, 85; Poor Richard's Almanac, 85, 154; first stove, 107; 121, 130, 134; letter to Strahan, 135, 138; in France, 151; 160, 161; portrait of, 164; "sage of the Convention," 175–176; 178.
Fredericksburg, battle of, 349.
Free Soilers, 312–313, 321.
Free states, 1861 (map), 331.
Freedman's Bureau, 392.
Fremont, Gen. John C., 309, 323, 350.
French, explorations of, 27, 44–47; trading-posts, 46.
French alliance with America, 151; fleet, 160.
French and Indian War, 91–95.
Frobisher, 48.
Fugitive slave law of 1850, 317–318.
Fugitive slaves, 288, 315.
Fulton, Robert, 270, 271.
Fur traders, 377.

"Gag rule," 298.
Gage, General. 130, 167.
Garfield, James A., elected President, 406; assassinated, 407; portrait, 407.
Garrison, Wm. Lloyd, 293, 295, 296, 297.
Garrisonians, 299, 300.
Gaspee, the, 126.
Gates, General Horatio, 149, 151, 159.
Genet, Edmund Charles, 209.
Genoa, 11, 12.
George the Third, 117, 123.
Georgia, 77.
Gettysburg, battle of, 355–356; Soldier's monument at, 356; Lincoln's speech at, 357–358.
Germantown, battle of, 148.
Ghent, peace of, 240.
Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, 48.
Gold discovery, 313.
Gold standard, 412, 421.
Golden Hind, the, 48.
Goliad, 301.
Good Citizenship, 455, 456.
Good Hope, Cape of, 2, 11, 12.
Goodyear, Charles, 388.
Gorges, Ferdinando, 67.
Gough, John B., 382.
Government representative, 53–54, 167; beginnings of national, 165, 176–177; the new, 181; seat of, 206–207.
Governor, 460.
Grand Cañon, 27.
Grand Rapids, Mich, 428.
Grant, Gen. Ulysses, S., victory at Donelson, 344–345; at Shiloh, 345, 358, 359; at Appomattox, 367–368; portrait, 368; elected President, 396; reëlected, 399; tomb of, 400.
Great Britain, fights for New World, 89.
Gray's Elegy, 91.
"Great Compromises," 284.
Great Lakes, 273, 442.
Greeley, Horace, 312, 381, 399.
Greene, Gen. Nathaniel, 159.
Greenbacks, 405.
Greenland, 5.
Green Mountain Boys, 132.
Grenville, Lord, 117, 121.
Guadaloupe Hidalgo, treaty of, 309.
Guerrière, the 235.
Guilford Court house, 159.

Habeas corpus, 197–198.
"Hail Columbia," 213.
Haitl, 18.
Hale, Nathan, 145.
Half Moon, the, 57.
Hamilton, Alexander, 172, 174, 178–179, 180; 202; financial plan of, 204–206; sketch and portrait of, 205; killed by Burr, 229.
Hampton Roads, 341.
Hancock, John, 130; signature, 140.
Hancock, Gen. W. S., 357, 406.
Harper's Ferry, 328.
Harrison, Benjamin, 407; elected President, 410.
Harrison, William Henry, 233, 237, 265, 285; elected President, 286, 305.
Harte, Bret, 356, 384.
Hartford, Conn., 68.
Hartford Convention 239, 283.
Harvard College, 56,67.
Harvesting machinery, 433–435.
Hawaiian Islands, 410.
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 382, 383.
Hay, John, 321; portrait and sketch, 415.
Hayes, Rutherford B., elected, 401–402; portrait, 403.
Hayne, Robert Y., 282.
Hay rake, revolving, 386.
Health laws, in colonies, 111–112.
Hendricks, Thomas, A., 409.
Hennepin, Father, 45.
Henry Patrick, 122–123, 128, 157, 179, 288, 297.
Hessians, 138, 148, 147.
Higher law," 300, 316.
Hobkkir's Hill, 160.
Hoe Press, 381.
Holland, 63.
Homes, Oliver Wendell, 383, 384.
"Holy Alliance," 246.
Holy Land, 8.
Holy Wars of the Cross, 8.
Homestead Act, 387.
Homestead, Pa., 433.
Homestead, policy, 387.
"Home Sweet Home," 275.
Hood, Gen. John B., 353, 363, 364.
Hooker, "Fighting Joe," 350, 354, 355, 356, 359.
Hooker, Rev. Thomas, 68.
Hopkins, Esek, 152.
House of Representatives, United States, how composed, 189; qualifications of, 189; size of, 189; annual meetings, 189; vacancies 189; officers of, 190; the speaker, 190; in session (photo) 191; first House, 200.
Houston, Samuel, 310.
Howard, Gen. O. O., 364.
Howe, Elias, 384.
Howe, General, 96, 131, 143, 148, 149.
Hudson, Henry, 57, 58.
Hudson Bay Company, 304.
Hudson river, discovery of, 58, 59; struggle for, 143.
Huguenot, 107.
Hull, Capt. Isaac, 235, 237.
Hussey, Obed, 385.
Hutchinson, Governor, 125.

Iceland, 5.
Illinois, admitted, 289; growth of, 375.
Immigration, 376, 442, 446.
Impeachment, 186, 396.
Impressment, 210, 226, 227.
Independent voting, 454.

Independence, early spirit of, 81; cause leading to, 136; war for, 143 sqq.; recognized, 161.
Independence Hall, 174.
India, 7, 11, 19, 58.
Indian Territory, 421.
Indiana admitted, 288; growth of, 375.
Indians, 18, 30–37, 55, 69, 76, 251.
Industrial development, 257–276, 375–389, 427–449.
Ingalls, John J., 409.
Inland navigation, 376–377.
Interior, Secretary of, 187.
Internal improvements, 242, 250–251.
Interstate commerce commission, 409.
Inventions, 260, 263.
Iron, 262, 439.
Iroquois Indians, 152.
Irrigation, 435–436.
Irving, Washington, 274–383.
Island, No. 10, 346.
Isthmian Canal, 419, 420, 425.

Jackson, Andrew, 175; at New Orleans, 240; 247; election of, 255, 256, 265; administration of, 277–286; portrait, 277; views of, 280; and nullification, 280, 282; and United States Bank, 284; death of, 286.
Jackson, Michigan, 321.
Jackson, Stonewall, 339, 347–349, 353, 355, 356.
James I, 50, 51.
Jamestown, Va., 47, 50–57; old church, 56.
Jamestown, Exposition 445.
Jasper, Sergeant, 159.
Jay, John, 160, 161, 178, 203, 207, 210, 211.
Jay Treaty, 210, 211.
Jefferson, Thomas, 128, 134, 138, 202, 207, 212, 216; elected President, 217; administration of, 219–230; portrait and sketch 220; reforms of, 221, 222; autograph, 228; reëlected President, 228; retirement of, 230; 265, 281, 288.
Johnson, Andrew, 352; plan of reconstruction, 391–392; elected President, 391; sketch of, 392; impeachment of, 396.
Johnston, Gen. Albert Sidney, 344–345, 353.
Johnston, Gen. Joseph E., 348, 353, 359, 362, 363, 366; surrender of, 369.
Joliet, 45.
Jones, John Paul, 152–154.
Judiciary, of the United States, 194–195.
Jury service, 456.

Kansas, struggle for, 321–323.
Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 320–322.
Kaskaskia, 157.
Kearney, 309.
Kearsage, the, 367.
Kenesaw Mountain, 363.
Kidd, Captain, 111.
Kentucky, first settlement in, 156, 157; admitted, 288; struggle for in Civil War, 344.
Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, 215.
Key, David M., 405.
Key, Francis Scott, 239.
King William's War, 89.
King's Mountain, 159.
"Kitchen Cabinet," 279.
"Knights of the Golden Circle," 362.
"Know-Nothings," 321.
Knox, Henry, Secretary of War, 202.
Kosciusko, Thaddeus, 151.
Ku Klux Klan, 398.

Labor, American Federation of, 444.
Labor problems, 444.
Labor-saving machinery, 427.
Labrador, 21.
Lake Erie, battle of, 236, 237.
La Fayette, Marquis de, 148, 151; visits U. S., 247.
La Salle, 45, 46, 223.
Law, how a bill becomes a, 183.
Lawrence, Captain, death of, 235.
Lawrence, Kansas, 322.
Lecompton Constitution, 326.
Lee, Arthur, 151.
Lee, Fitzhugh, 415.
Lee, Gen. Charles, 145.
Lee, Richard Henry, 138.
Lee, Gen. Robert E., 347–349, 351, 356, 358, 359–360; surrender of, 367; portrait and sketch of, 368; last days of, 369.
Lee, "Light Horse Harry," 152.
Legislature, State, 461.
Leopard, the, 227.
Lewis and Clark, expedition, 265, 266, 304.
Lexington, battle of, 129, 130.
Lexington, the, 153.
Lexington, Ky., 157.
Liberal republicans, 399.
Liberator, the 292, 294.
Liberty Bell, 140.
"Liberty party," 299, 300, 304, 313.
Lieutenant Governor, 460.
Lincoln, Abraham, 198, 297; debate with Douglas, 326–328; elected President, 329; policy towards slavery and the South, 334–335; birthplace, and sketch of, 334; "Border States" policy, 343; and his officers, 347; and emancipation, 350–352; cabinet of, 351; speech at Gettysburg, 357–358; and peace; 361, reëlected, 362; assassination of, 369; statue of, 370; funeral of, 371; letter to Mrs. Bixby, 372.
Lincoln-Douglas debate, 326–328.
Lincoln, General, 159.
Literature, 273–276; golden age of, 382.
Live stock, 258.
Livingston, Robert R., 138, 201, 223, 224, 250.
Logan, Gen. John A., 364.
Log Cabins, 156.
London Company, the, 50.
Long, Dr. C. W., 388.
Longfellow, Henry W., 382, 383, 384.

Long Island, battle of, 143.
Longstreet, Gen. James, 353.
Lookout Mountain, 358, 359.
"Lost Colony," 48.
Louisbourg, fall of, 96.
Louisiana, given by France to Spain, 99; purchase of, 222–226; map, 225, 304; admitted, 289; slavery in, 289.
Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis, 445.
Lovejoy, Rev. E. P., 296.
Lowell, James Russell, 203, 295, 383, 384.
Lundy, Benjamin, 293.

McClellan, General, 340, 348–349, 354; nominated for President, 362.
McCormick reaper, 385.
MacDonough, Commodore Thomas, 237.
McDowell, General, 339, 349.
McDuffie, Gov. George, 295–296.
McKinley, William, 411; elected President, 412; portrait and sketch, 413; reëlected, 419; assassinated, 419.
McKinley tariff, 411.
Machinery, agricultural, 385, 430, 432; labor saving, 427; sale of, 428–430; age of 430; reasons for progress, 430; harvesting, 432–434.
Machines, American, sale of, 433–435.
Madison, Dolly, 175, 231.
Madison, James, 170, 172, 174; Father of the Constitution, 175, 178, 179; elected, 229; portrait, 231; administration of, 231–242; retirement of, 242.
Madison's Journal, 175.
Magellan, Ferdinand, voyages of, 22–24.
Magellan, straits of, 23.
Mails, freedom of, 297.
Maine, 67; admission of, 290.
Maine, the, destruction of, 414, 415.
Malvern Hill, battle of, 349.
Mandeville, Sir John, 7.
Manhattan Island, 57, 58.
Manila Bay, battle of, 415–416.
Mann, Horace, 381.
Manning, William, 385.
Manufacturers, 110, 259, 260, 262, 436–438; center of, 444.
Maps of world, 3.
Marco Polo, 7.
Marion, General, 159.
Marque and reprisal, letters of, 197.
Marquette, Father, 45, 47, 223.
Marshall, John, 179, portrait, 193.
Maryland, early history, 71, 72; service in forming the Union, 168.
Mason, John, 67, 342.
Mason and Dixon's line, 289.
Mason and Slidell, 342.
Massachusetts Act, 127–128.
Massachusetts Bay Colony, 66.
Massachusetts, early history, 61–67; 179.
Massachusetts, Sixth Regiment, 338.
Massasoit, 69, 70.
Mayflower, the, 63, 64.
Mayflower compact, 64.
Mayor, the, 466.
Meade, Gen. George G., 354, 356.
Medical education in colonies, 112.
"Merit system," 279, 408.
Merrimac, the, 341.
Mexican war, map of, 302; causes of, 306; battles of, 307–309; results of, 307–310.
Mexico, city of, 309.
Miles, Gen. Nelson H., 416.
Miles Standish, 62.
Milwaukee, 268.
Ministers of U. S., 202.
Minneapolis, 45.
Minute Men, 129, 130.
Missionary Ridge, 358.
Mississippi, admitted, 289.
Mississippi River, discovered, 25, 26, 45, 47, 158, 223, 224, 344, 346, 358, 377.
Missouri, and slavery, 289.
Missouri Compromise, 290–292; map of, 291 repeal of, 320–322.
Mobile Bay, 366.
Molino del Rey, 309.
Money problem, 412, 413.
Monitor and *Merrimac*, 341.
Monmouth, battle of, 151.
Monroe, James, 179, 213, 223, 224; elected President, 242; administration of, 243–248; portrait, 243; tour of, 244, 245; death of, 248.
Monroe doctrine, 245, 257, 412.
Montcalm, General, 95, 98–99.
Montgomery, Richard, 143.
Montreal, 27.
Morgan, Gen. Daniel, 150, 159.
Morris, Robert, 146, 147.
Morse, S. F. B., 380.
Morton, Dr., 388.
Mount Vernon, 162, 201; view of, 215, 216.
Mule train, 314.
Murfreesboro, 347.

Napoleon Bonaparte, 223, 224.
Narragansett Indians, 69.
Narvaez, 25.
Nashville, battle of, 363–364.
Nassau, Fort, 58.
National Convention of, 1787, 174–180.
National conventions, 452.
National Government, 177.
National Republicans, 256.
Naturalization, 197, 214.
Navigation, 376.
Navigation and Trade laws, 118.
Navy, beginnings of, 152; Secretary of, 187; in war of 1812, 234–236; and blockade in Civil War, 340; 366, 367.
Negro suffrage, 395, 397.
Negro troops, 362.
Neutrality, Washington's policy of, 209.
New Amsterdam, 59, 60.
New England Confederation, 70, 84.
New England Emigrant Aid Society, 322.

Newfoundland, 48.
New France, 44, 47, 93, 99.
New Hampshire, 67, 179.
New Haven, 68.
New Jersey, 73.
New Jersey Plan, the, 177.
New Mexico, 309, 317, 425.
New Netherlands, 58–59; capture of, 60, 70.
New Orleans, battle of, 240; capture of, 346; riot in, 395.
New World, 1; discovery of, 1, 17, 18; prophecies of, 4–5.
New York, early history, 57–61; early settlements, 58, 179.
Newburgh address, 162.
Newport, Christopher, 51.
Newspapers, 380–381.
Nina, Pinta, Santa Maria, 15, 18.
Nominating conventions, 452.
Non-importation, American Association for, 129.
Non-intercourse, act, the, 228.
Normal schools, 381.
Norsemen, 5; ships of, 6.
North, Lord, 130.
North America, physical features, of 38–41; in 1750 (map), 89.
North Carolina, 72, 179.
North Pole, discovery of, 422.
Northwest Territory, 172.
Nullification, 280–283.

Oglethorpe, James Edward, 78.
Ohio, first mill in, 260; admitted, 288.
Ohio Company, 87.
Ohio river, 264, 271, 377.
Oil, 439.
Oklahoma, admitted, 421.
"Old Hickory," 255.
"Old Sarum," 117.
Old World, 1.
"Omnibus Bill," 317.
Orange, Fort, 58, 60.
Ordinance of 1787, 172.
Ordinance of nullification, 283.
Oregon, the, 420.
Oregon country, the, Spain surrenders claim to, 245; 304, map of, 305.
Oregon treaty, 305.
Otis, James, 119.

Pacific Ocean, discovery of, 24.
Pacific Railroad, 399, 437.
Paine, Thomas, 137; *The Crisis*, 146.
Palma, General, 418.
Palos, 13, 15, 19.
Panama, 24.
Panama Canal, 419, 420, 425, 447, 448. *See also* Isthmian canal.
Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo, 446.
Panic, of 1837, 285; of 1873, 400.
Parker, Alton B., 420.
Parker, Captain, 130.
Party platforms, 453.
Patents, 258, 385, 429, 430.
"Pathfinder," the, 323.
Patriotism, 455, 456.
Patroons, 59.
Paulus Hook, 152.
Payne, John Howard, 274.
Payne-Aldrich, tariff, 411, 422, 423.
Peace Congress, 333.
"Peace Democrats," 362.
Peace International, 426.
Pea Ridge, battle of, 344.
Peary, Robert E., 422–423.
Peninsular Campaign, 348.
Penn, William, 73–77.
Pennsylvania, 74–77.
Perry, Commodore O. H., 236, 237.
Perryville, battle of, 347.
Personal liberty bills, 317.
Petition, struggle for right of, 298, 299.
Philadelphia, 75, 112; campaigns around, 149; evacuated by British, 151, 171, 174, 208 379.
Philippines, the, 22, 23; government in, 417.
Philippino rebellion, 417.
Phillips, Wendell, 296; portrait, 297.
Photography, 388.
Physical map of U. S., 39.
Pickens, Colonel, 159.
Pickett, General, charge of, 357.
Pierce, Franklin, elected President, 317.
Pike, Zebulon, 265; expedition of, 266.
Pike's Peak, 266.
Pilgrim Fathers, 61, 62, 64, 113.
Pinckney, C. C., 212, 213.
Pinto, 15, 19.
Pitcairn, Captain, 130.
Pitt, William, 96, 134.
Pittsburg, 92, 97, 268, 271, 379.
Pittsburg Landing, 345.
Plantation system, 386.
Platform, 279, 280; party, 453.
Plattsburg, 237.
Plymouth Company, the, 50.
Plymouth Colony, 61, 65.
Plymouth Rock, 61, 64.
Poe, Edgar Allan, 383, 384.
Policy of Coercion, 127.
Political parties, beginning of, 207; differences between, 207, 256, 451–452.
Polk, James K., 303; elected President, 304, 305, 311, 380.
Ponce de Leon, 24.
Pontiac's conspiracy, 119.
"Poor Richard's Almanac," 85, 154.
Pope's Line, 19, 20.
"Popular sovereignty," 313, 317, 320, 326–327
Population, 1829–1865, 375; center of, 444.
Porto Rico, map of, 416, 418.
Portuguese sailors, 11.
Postage rates, 380.
Postmaster-General, the (1829), 187.
Powhatan, 55.

Prescott, General, 131.
President, powers and duties of, 183–184; qualifications of, 184; how elected, 185; how removed, 186; cabinet of, 186.
Presidential succession law, 409.
Primary elections, 453.
Princeton, battle of, 148; congress at, 171.
Printing, 14; press, 381.
Prison ship martyrs, 145.
Privateering, 153; in Civil War, 367.
Products of U. S., 431.
Prohibition Party, 399.
Prophecies of discovery, 4–5.
Proportional Representation, 177.
Prosecuting attorney, 463.
Providence, R. I., 70.
Provincial Congress, 130, 167.
Public spirit, 456.
Pueblo village, 33.
Pulaski, Count, 159.
Puritans, 62, 76, 66, 104.
Purity of Elections, 454.
Putnam, General, 131.

Quakers, in New England, 66; in New Jersey and Penn., 73, 74, 111.
Quartering act, 128.
Quartering policy, 118–119.
Quebec, 29, 44; fall of, 97; 143.
Quebec act, 128.
Queen Anne's War, 89.
Queen Elizabeth, 48.

Rabida, convent of, 13.
Railroads, 378–380; 438–442.
Railway rates, 439.
Raleigh, Sir Walter, 48.
Raleigh, the 153.
Randolph, Edmund, Attorney-General, 202.
Rawdon, Lord, 160.
Raymond, Henry J., 381.
Reaper invented, 385.
Reciprocity, with Canada, 424.
Reconstruction, period of, 391–402; problem of, 391; presidential plan of, 391–392; congressional plan of, 393–394; acts of, 395–396.
Recorder, county, 459.
Refrigerator car, 432.
Religion in colonies, 112–114.
Religious toleration, 62, 63, 71.
Representative government, 53, 54, 167.
Representatives, House of, 189. *See* House.
Republican Party, origin of, 321.
Republicans, Jeffersonian, 207, 208, 209, 214–215, 244; liberal, 399.
Requisitions, 121.
Resaca, battle of, 363.
Revere, Paul, 130.
Revival of learning, 8, 9, 14.
Revolution, causes of, 116–133; war in the North (map), 143; in the South (map), 159.
Rhode Island, 66, 69, 70, 167, 179.
Richmond, Va., defense of, 349; 359, 360.
"Rider," 290.
Ripon, Wisconsin, 321.
Roanoke Island, 49.
Robertson, James, 157.
Robinson, Rev. John, 63.
"Rock of Chickamauga," 358.
Roller process, 432.
Roosevelt, Theodore, 211; elected Vice-President, 419; becomes President, 419; portrait and sketch, 420; elected President, 420, 421.
Rosecrans, General, 347, 358.
"Rotten boroughs," 117.
"Rough Riders," 419, 420.
Royal governors, quarrels with, 82, 83.
Rubber, vulcanized, 388.
Rules, Committee on, 192.
Russia, 246.

St. Anthony Falls, 45.
St. Augustine, founded, 44.
St. Lawrence river, discovery of, 27; 40, 47, 93
St. Louis, Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 445.
St. Leger, 149, 150.
St. Pierre, 90.
Sale of American Machines, 427–429.
Salem, 66, 115.
Sampson, Commodore, 416.
San Francisco, 314.
San Jacinto, the, 342.
San Jacinto, battle of, 303.
San Salvador, 18.
Santa Anna, General, 301, 307.
Santa Fé, 44, 266.
Santa Maria, 15, 18.
Santiago, battle of, 416.
Santo Domingo, 18.
Saratoga, battle of, 150.
Sault Ste, Marie, 377; locks at, 440.
Savannah, 78, 159, 160, 366.
Savannah, the, 272.
"Scalawags," 397.
Schley, Commodore, 416.
School boards, 463.
Schurz, Carl, 405, 407.
Schuyler, General, 150.
Scientific agriculture, 431–432.
Scott, Gen. Winfield, portrait, 309, 339.
Sea of Darkness, 3, 13.
Seat of Government, 206, 219.
Seceded cotton states, 331.
Secretary of State (1798), 187, 459.
Secretary of the Treasury (1789), 187.
Secretary of War (1789), 187.
Secretary of the Navy (1798), 187.
Secretary of the Interior (1849), 187.
Secretary of Agriculture (1889), 197.
Secretary of Commerce and Labor (1903), 187.
Sedition act, 214.
Selectmen, 104.
Semmes, Captain, 367.
Senate, United States, 187, 200.

Senator, how elected, 187; qualifications, for, 188.
"Separatists," 62.
Serapis, the, 154.
"Seven Cities," 26, 27.
"Seven days' fight," 349.
Seven Years' War, 95.
Sevier, John, 157, 159.
Seward, William H., 315–316, 321, 338, 351.
Sewing machine, 263, 384.
Seymour, Horatio, 396.
Shackamaxon treaty, 76.
Shannon and *Chesapeake*, 236.
Shays's rebellion, 171.
Shenandoah Valley, 86, 349, 360, 361.
Sheridan, Gen. P. H., 354; famous ride of, 360, 361.
Sheriff, 459.
Sherman, John, 405–406.
Sherman, Roger, 138.
Sherman, Gen. William T., 338, 354, 359, 362; march to the sea, 364–366.
Shiloh, battle of, 345.
Ship-building in colonies, 110, 264.
"Ship of State," 180.
Silver coinage, 412–414.
Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, 338.
Sky-scrapers, 443.
Slater, Samuel, 260.
Slavery, introduced, 54; in colonies, 11; and the Constitution, 288; increase of, 288; and Missouri, 289–292; and Texas, 305; and compromises of 1850, 314–317; struggle against extension of, 311–312; 320–329; in District of Columbia, 315, 333, 350; in Civil War, 350–352.
Slave trade, 178.
Slidell and Mason, 342.
Sloat, Commodore, 309.
Smith, John, 51, 52, 58, 64.
Smuggling, 118.
Social and industrial progress, 1829–1865, 375.
Soldier's mutiny, 171.
Sons of Liberty, 121, 125.
South Carolina, 72; and nullification, 280–283; secession of, 331–332.
South, the new, 403; industrial development, 443–444.
Spaniards seek India, 12; discoverers, 24–27; explorations of, 43; possessions in America, 116.
Spanish-American War, 414–417.
Spanish colonies, 44.
Speaker of National House, 190–192.
"Spirit of '76, the" 144.
"Spoils System," 278.
Spotswood, Governor, 80.
Spottsylvania, 360.
Stage-coach, 269.
Stamp Act, reasons for, 120; opposition to 121; repealed, 123.
Stamp Act Congress, 123.
Standing army, opposition to, 119–120.
Standish, Miles, 64.
Stanton, Edwin M., 351, 396,
Star of the West, 333
"Star Spangled Banner," the, 239.
Stark, Col. John, 150.
State, constitution, 460.
State, Secretary of, 187, 460; Auditor of, 460; Treasurer of, 460; Attorney-General of, 460; Supt. of public instruction of, 460; legislature, 461.
State universities, 381.
States, early government in, 166–167; admission of, 211, 288, 289; constitutions of, 460; executive departments of, 460; legislatures of, 461; judiciary of, 461.
Steam engine, 259.
Steamboat, 270–273, 438.
Steel rails, 440.
Stephens, Alexander, H., 331.
Steuben, Baron, 149, 150, 201.
Stevens, Thaddeus, 396.
Stockton, Commodore, 309.
Stone's River, battle of, 347.
Stony Point, 152.
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 318.
Stuyvesant, Peter, 59.
Sullivan, General, 152.
Summer, Charles, 323, 396.
Sumter, General, 159.
Supreme Courts of U. S., 194; power of, 194; importance of, 194–195, 461.
Sutter's Mill, 312.

Taft, William Howard, 417; portrait and sketch, 421; elected President, 422.
Taney, Chief Justice, 324.
Tariff, first protective, 241, 242; "of abominations," 255, 280, 283; McKinley, 411; Wilson Act, 411; Dingley Act, 411; Payne Act, 411, 422; Board and Revision, 423.
Tarleton, Colonel, 159.
Taxation and Representation, 117–124
Taylor, Gen. Zachary, 306–308; 313.
Tea tax, the, 125.
Tecumseh, 233, 237,
Telegraph, 380, 442, 443.
Telephone, the, 443.
Tenure of Office act, 396.
Terry, Eli, 263.
Texas, U. S. gives up claim to, 245; early settlement, 301; revolt, of 301; independence of 302, 303; annexation of, 303–305; claim to New Mexico, 315, 317.
Thames, the, battle of, 237
Thanksgiving day, 64.
Thirteenth amendment, 373.
Thomas, Gen. George H., 354, 358, 363, 364.
Thompson, George, 296.
Thoreau, 382.
Three-fifths compromise, 288–290.
Thresher invented, 385.
Ticonderoga, 95, 132, 150.
Tilden, Samuel J., 401, 404.

Tippecanoe, battle of, 232, 233.
Titles of nobility, 197.
Tobacco, 18, 55.
Toleration Act, 71.
Topeka, Kansas, 323.
Tories, 134, 159, 161, 162, 170–171.
Toscanelli, 12.
Town, the, 465; meetings, 465–466
Town meeting, 104, 461, 465.
Townshend acts, 123–124.
Township system, 104, 464.
Trade and Navigation Laws, 118.
Trade routes, to East, map of; 9, three routes to, 10; Turks and, 11.
Trading companies, 49, 50.
Transcontinental railroad, the first, 440–441.
Transportation, 108–109, 268–273, 376–380, electric, 442.
Traveling, early mode of, 108, 269.
Travis, Col., 302.
Treasury, Secretary of, 187.
Treaties, enforcement of, 170.
Treaty of Peace, 1763, 99; 1783, 160; 1898, 417.
Trent affair, 341–342.
Trenton, battle of, 147.
Tripoli, 226.
Trolley lines, 428.
Truck farming, 433.
Turks, and trade routes, 11.
Turner, Nat, insurrection of, 295.
Twelfth amendment, 229.
Tyler, John, 305, 306, 333.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin," 318.
Underground railroad, 317–318.
Union, the, among English colonies, 80–87; early plans of, 84, 85; beginnings of, 165; causes of, 166; "Articles of," 168; delay in forming, 168; "dissolved," 331–332.
Union slave States, 1861 (map).
Union generals, 354.
United Colonies of New England, 70.
United States, physical map, 39; at close of Revolution (map), 162; original territory, 225; Louisiana Purchase, 225; Oregon country, 225; Spanish territory, 225; map of acquisition of territory, 308; map of slave and free states, 320; in 1861 (map), 331; military situation in the West in 1862, 342; peninsula campaign, 348; Civil War, 1861–1865 (map), 356; area, population and wealth, 1829–1865 375; Alaska, 401; map of Porto Rico 416; possessions 1911 (map), 418, Census of 1910,423; Industrial development since Civil War, 427–449; products (map), 431; iron ore shipping routes; 439; center of manufactures (map), 444; center of population (map), 444; Panama Canal (map), 448.
Utah, 317.
Utah Springs, 16.
Ute Indians, 389.

Valley Forge, 148, 149.
Van Buren, Martin, 278; elected President, 285; 303.
Vancouver, George, 304.
Vanderbilt, Cornelius, 380.
Vasco de Gama, 2, 11, 12, 21.
Venetian ship, 10.
Venezuela, 312.
Venice, 11.
Vera Cruz, 309.
Vermont, admitted, 211, 288.
Verrazano, John, 27.
Vespucius, Americus, 21, 22.
Veto power, 183, 279.
Vice-President, 186.
Vicksburg, 345, 346, 347; fall of, 358.
Victoria, 24.
Village, the, 464; officers, 464.
Vincennes, 157, 158.
Vinland, 5.
Virginia, 48, 50–57, 179.
Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, 215.
Virginia Assembly, 122.
Virginia Plan, the, 177.
Voluntary organizations, 467.
Vote-buying, 454.
Voters duties of, 451, who are, 451.
Voting, independent, 454.
Vulcanized rubber, 388.

Wabash Valley, 158.
Wabash and Erie Canal, 377.
Walden Pond, 382.
Waldseemüller, 22.
Wallace, Gen. Lew, 345, 360.
Walk in the Water, the, 244, 273.
War of 1812, 233–241; map illustrating, 238; results of, 241.
"War hawks," 232.
War, Secretary of, 187.
Warner, General, 150.
Warren, Gen. Joseph, 131.
Washington, Capitol at, 182, 206, 219.
Washington and Lee University, 369.
Washington, George, in early Virginia, 87; in French-Indian War, 90–94; hoists British flag at Fort Duquesne, 97; takes command of the Continental army, 133, 134, 143; retreat to Trenton, 145; crossing the Delaware, 147; at Valley Forge, 148; and Conway cabal, 149, 151; retires to Mt. Vernon, 162, 172; President Constitutional Convention, 1787, 175, 180; elected President, 200; autograph, 201; inauguration of, 201–202; administration of, 201–212; neutrality policy, 209; farewell address of, 211–212; home of, 215; death, and tomb of, 215–216.
Washington, Martha, 216.
Water routes to India, 5, 10, 11.
Watt, James, 259.
Wanhe, "Mad Anthony," 152.
Wealth of U. S., 1829–1865, 375.
Webster, Daniel, 277, 278; debate with

Hayne, 282, 283; portrait, 282, 305; Seventh of March speech, 315, 321.
Webster-Ashburton treaty, 305.
West, the, struggle for, 156–158; development of, 250; in politics, 256; farther exploration, 264–265; settlements, 266, 267.
West Jersey, 73.
West Point, 155.
West Virginia, 343.
Western lands, 168.
Western posts, 171, 211.
Western route to India, 12.
Western settlement, 266–267.
Westward movement, early, 86, 87; later, 250, 264.
Wethersfield, Conn., 68.
Whig party, English, 117.
Whigs, in the Revolution, 134, 136, 159; later, 304, 313, 317, 321.
"Whiskey-ring," 399.
White, Chief Justice, 422.
White House, 184.
White, John, 49.
White Plains, 145, 152.
Whitney, Eli, 260–261, 288.
Whittier, John G., 293, 315, 383, 384.
Wilderness, the, 360.
Wilkes, Captain, 342.
William and Mary College, 55.
Williams, Roger, 69, 78.
Wilmington, N. C., 159, 160.
Wilmot, Proviso, 311, 315, 317.
Wilson Act, 411.
Wilson's Creek, battle of, 344.
Winchester, battle of, 361.
Windsor, Conn., 68.
Winslow, Captain, 367.
Winthrop, John, 66.
Wireless telegraph, 443.
Wisconsin, admitted, 31
Wisconsin River, 45.
Witchcraft, 114–115.
Wolfe, General, 96–99.
Woodranger, 45.
Woodworth, Samuel, 275.
Wool, 262.
World, time of Columbus, 2; maps, 3.
World's Fair, in London, 385; in Paris, 386; Jamestown, 445; Philadelphia, 445; Chicago, 446; St. Louis, 446.
Wright airship, 446.
Writs of Assistance, 118.
Wyoming Valley, 152.

X. Y. Z., affair, 213.

Yale university, 68.
Yeardley, Governor, 53.
York, Duke of, 73, 331.
Yorktown, surrender of Cornwallis, 160.

97
38
135